

The holy apostle and doctour of the peple saynt
Paul sayth in his epistle. All that is written
is written vnto our doctrine and for our ler-
nyng. Wherefore many noble clerkes haue endeuored
them to write and compyle many notable werkes and
hystories to the ende that it myght come to the knowlege
and vnderstandyng of such as ben ygnorant. Of which
the nombre is infenye. And accordyng to the same sayth
Salamon. that the nombre of folkes. is infenye. And
among alle other good werkes. It is a werke of ryght
special recomendacion to enforme and to late vnderstande
Wysedom and vertue vnto them that be not lerned. ne can
not dyscerne wysedom fro folke. Thene amonge whom
there was an excellent doctour of dyuynyte in the royaume
of fraunce of the ordre of the hospital of Saynt Iohnes of
Iherusalem whiche entended the same and hath made a
book of the esse moralysed. whiche at such tyme as I
was resident in brudges in the counte of Flaunders
in to my handes. whiche whan I had red and ouersaw
ne semed ful necessarye for to be had in englysshe. And
in escheuyng of ydolene. And to thende that some which
haue not seen it ne vnderstonde frenssh ne latyn. I deli-
bered in my self to translate it in to our maternal tonge.
And whan I so had achyueved the sayd translation. I
dyde so sette in enprente a certeyn nombre of theym.
whiche anone were depessed and sold. Wherefore by cause
thys sayd book is ful of holsom wysedom and requysite
vnto euery estate and degree. I haue purposed so
enprente it. shewyng therein the figures of such persons

as longer to the playe. In Whom al a states and degrees
 be comprehended / beseeching al them that this litle Booke
 shal see here, or see to haue me for excused for the rude &
 simple making and redugn in to our englishe / And
 where as is default to correcte and amende, and in so doing
 they shal deserue merite and thanke, and I shal pray for
 them, that god of his grette mercy shal rewarde them in
 his euerlastyng blisse in heuen, to the Whiche he bringe
 vs, that with his precious blood redeemed vs Amen

This booke is reuised and departed in to four tractes
 and partes



The first tracte

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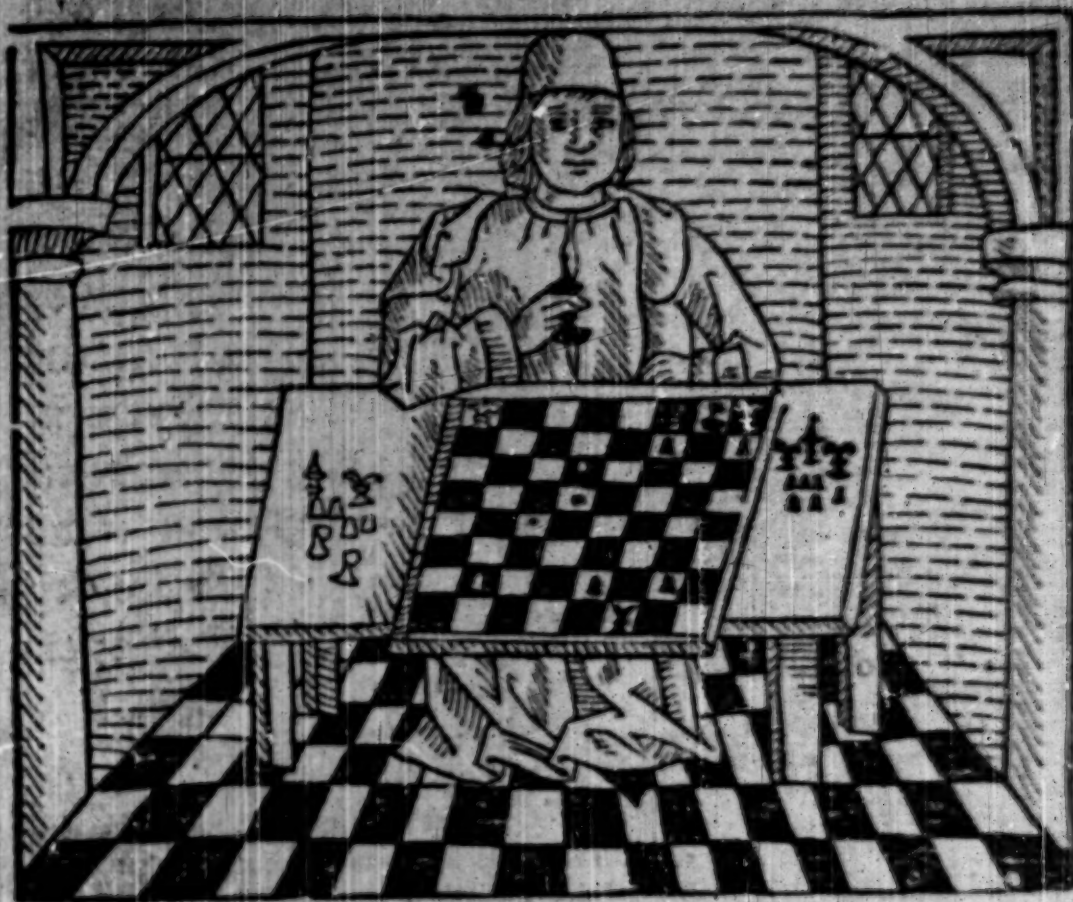
This first chapter of the first tractate sheweth in :
 der what kyng the playe of the Chesse was founden and
 made . Capitulo Primo



AMonge alle the euyl condicions & signes that may
 be in a man the first and the greetest is . When he se
 eth not ne dredeth to displese & make woeth god by synne
 & the peple by luyng disorderatly / When he rechech not
 nor taketh heed vnto them that reprove hym and his vy
 ces . But sleeth them . In suche wyse as did the emperour
 nero . Whiche did so sle his mayster seneque . for as moche
 as he myght not suffer to be reprovyn & taught of hym . in
 like wyse was soyme a kyng in babilon that was named

Enphemenach a Iolye man Without Justyce and so cru;
el that he did to sell his fathers body in three hundred pieces
and gaf hit to eat and devour to three hundred byrdes that
men calle Soulders. And Was of such condicion as Was
Mew. And right Wel resemble and Was lyke vnto his
fater Nabegodmosor. Which on a tyme Wold to see all
the sage and Wise men of Babilone. For as moche as they
coude not telle hym his dreme that he had drempt on a
nyght and had forgotten hit like as hit is Writen in the
byble in the booke of daniel. Under this kyng thene Enyl
menach Was this game and playe of the chesse founden.
Telle it is that some men Wene that this play Was fou
nd in the tyme of the bataylles and siege of troye. But
that is not so. For this playe cam to the playes of the
Gallies as diomedes the greck saith and reherceth, that
amonge the philosophes Was the most renomed playe a
monge al other playes. And after that cam this playe
in the tyme of alexander the grete in to egypt and so vnto
alle the parties toward the south. And the cause Wherefore
this playe Was so renomed shal be sayd in the iii chapter.

This chappre of the first tractate sheweth who fond
 first the playe of the Chesse Capitule 7

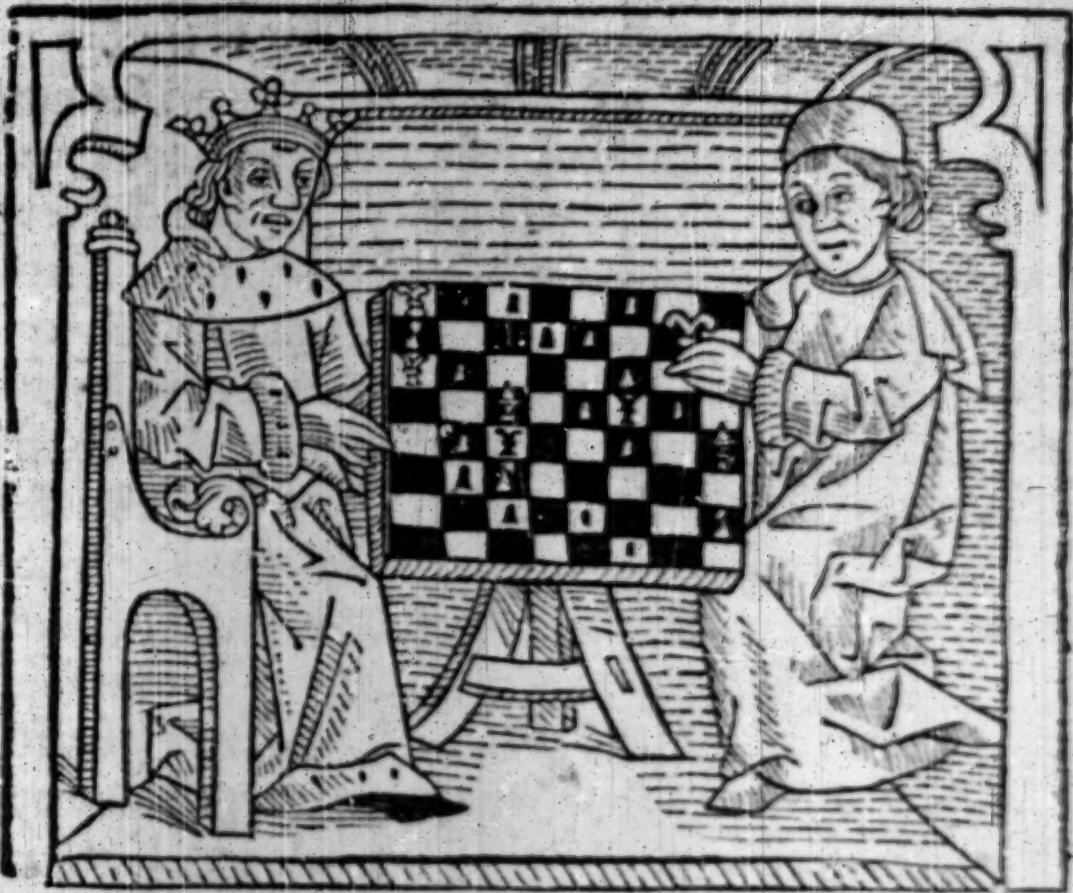


This playe found a philosopher of thoryent whiche
 was named in calde Exerces or in greke philemes
 for which is as much to say in englyssh as he that loveth
 Justyce and mesure. And this philosopher was renowned
 greatly among the grekes and them of Athens whiche
 were good clerkes and philosophers also renowned of their
 connyng. This philosopher was so Just and trewe that he
 had leuer dye / than to lyue long and be a fals flaterer
 With the sayd kyng. For whan he beheld the foul & syn-
 ful lyf of the kyng. And that no man durst blame hym

For by his grete cruelte he put them al to deth that disple
sed hym. He put hym self in perill of deth and lounde &
cheere rather to dye than lenger to lyue. The euyl lyl and
disfamed of a kyng is the lyl of a cruel keste. and ought
not longe to be susteyned / for he destroyeth hym that disple
sith hym. And therfore wherewith Valerius. that there was
a Wyse man named theodore ~~whom~~ whom his kyng dyd to
hange on the crosse for as moche as he irpreyde hym of
hys euyl & foul lyl. and alwey as he was in the torment
he sayd to the kyng. Upon thy counceyllours and thy
that ben clad in thy clothynge and robes were more reson
that this torment shold come. for as moche as they dar
not say to the the trouth for to do Justysse rightwysly / of
my self I make no force whether I dye on the lond or on
the water or other wyse / As who sayth he wylled not to
dye for Justysse. In like wyse as demoreon the philoso
pher put out his owne eye by cause he wold not see that
no good myght come to the euyl and vicious peple wylth
out right. And also refortes the philosopher as he went
to ward his deth. His wyf that folowed after hym sayd
that he was dāpned to deth wrongfully. thēne he answard
and sayd to her holde thy pees and be stille / hit is better
and more meritorie to dye by a wrong & vnrighful Ju
gement / than that I had deserued to dye.



The thyrd chapitre of the first tractate treateth Wherfore
the playe Was founden and maad? Capitulo in



The causes Wherfore this playe Was founden ben in.
The first Was for to correcte and repreue the kyng
for Whan this kyng enylmerodach sawe this playe / And
the barons . knyghtes . and gentylmen of his court playe
Wyth the phylosopher / he merueyelled greatly of the beaultee
and nouelte of the playe . And desired to playe agaynst
the phylosopher / The phylosopher answered and sayd to hym
that hit myght not be doon / but yf he first lernyd the playe
The kyng sayd hit Was reson and that he Wold put hym
to the payn to lerne hit / Than the phylosopher began to

teche hym/ and to shewe hym the maner of the table of the
hesse booke and the chesse meyne . And also the maners &
the condicions of a kyng of the nobles and of the comyn
peple and of theyr offycers and how they shold be touchyd &
draught . And how he shold amende hym self and become
vertuous, and When this kyng herde that he reprovyd hym/
he demaunded hym vpon payn of deeth to telle hym Where:
for he had founden and maad this playe, and he answered
my right dere lord and kyng . the greetest and most thyng
that I desire is that thou haue in thy self a glorious and
vertuous lyf . And that may I not see, but yf thou be en-
doctrined and wel manerd and that had . so mayst thou be
belouyd of thy peple . Thus than I desire that thou haue
other gouernement thene thou hast had . & that thou haue
vpon thy self first seignourie & maistrie such as thou hast
vpon other by force and not by right . Certeynly hit is
not right that a man be maister ouer other & comaliour
Whē he can not rebble nor may rebble hym self and that his
vertues domyne aboue his vyces, for seignourie by force
and wyllē may not longe endure/ Whence thus may thou
see don of the causes Why and Wherefore I haue founden &
maad this playe . Which is for to correcte and reprove the
of thy tyrannye & vicious lyuynge, for all kynges ought
specially to be her corrigiours or correctours and her cor-
rections to holde and kepe in mynde . In like wyse as Vas-
serius reherceth that the kyng alexandre had a noble and
renomed syngher that sayd in reprovynge of Alexandre
that he was to moche couetous & in especial of the honours
of the world , And sayd to hym yf the goddes had maade

thy body as grete as is thy herte. Alle the Worldz coude
not holde the . for thou holdest in thy right hand al the ory-
ent . and in thy left hand the occident . sith than hit is so
or thou art a god / or a man / or nought . yf thou be god .
doe than Wel and good to the peple as god woth . and take
not from them that they ought to haue and is the 2^{de} .
Yf thou be a man thynke that thou shalt dye . and than
thou shalt woonen euyl . yf thou be nought / forgett thy
self . There is no thyng so stronge and ferme . but
that sumtyme a feble thyng casteth down and ouerthrowe
hit . How Wel that the lyon be the strongest best . yet
sometyme a litel byrde eteth hym . The second cause wher-
fore this playe Was founden and maad . Was for to kepe
hym from ydlenesse / Wherof seneque sayth vnto lucylls
ydlenes wythout any occupation is sepulture of a man ly-
uyng . and Varro saith in his sentences that in lyke wyse
as men goo not for to goo . the same wyse the lyf is not
gyuen for to lyue but for to do Wel and good . & therefore
secondly the philosopher fond this playe for to kepe the pe-
ple from ydlenes . for there is moche peple whan so is that
they be fortunat in worldly goodes that they drawe them
to ease & ydlenes Wherof comyth ofte tymes many euyllis
and grete synnes / and by this ydlenes the herte is quen-
chyed Wherof comyth good desperation . The thyrde cause is
that euery man naturelly desireth to knowe and here no
ueltees and tydynge . for this cause they of Athenes
studyed as we rede . and for as the corporal or boakye
sight enpesseth and letteth otherwhyle the knowleche of
subtyl thynges . Therefore we rede that democrite the

philosopher put out his other eye, For as moche as he
might haue the better entendment and vnderstandynge
among haue ben made blynde that were grete clerkes in this
kyngdom as was didimus bysshop of alexandrie. that told wel
that he sawe not. yet he was so grete a clerke that gregore
nazianzen and saynt Jerome that were clerkes and maysters
to other cam for to be his scolers and lernys of hym. And
saynt anthouye the grete hermyte cam for to see hym on a
tyme and amonge alle other thynges, he demaunded hym
if he were not grete dyspleid that he was blynde & sawe
not. and he answered, that he was grete alyshyd for that
he supposid not that he was not displeid in that he had
lost his sight, and saynt anthouye answered to hym I mar
uaile moche that hit displeith the that thou hast lost that
thyng which is comyn betwene the and bestes and thou
knowest wel that thou hast not lost that thyng that is co
myn betwene the and the aungellis. And for these causes
forsoke the philosopher entended to put a wey al pensifnes
and thoughtes. and to thynke onely on this playe as
shal be fynd and appere in this booke after.



The second tractate / the first chapter treateth of the forme
of a kyng of his maners & of his estate Capitulo primo



The kyng must be thus maad . for he must sytte
in a chayer clothyd in purple / cowlmed on his head
in his right hand a ceptre and in the left hand an apple of
golde / for he is the most greetest and higest in dygnyte a
bove al othe and most worthy . And that is signyfied
by the corone . for the glorie of the peple is the dygnyte of
the kyng / and above al othe the kyng ought to be re
plenysshed with vertues and of grace . and this signyfith
the purple . For in like wyse as the robes of purple ma
keth fayr and enbelisseth the body . the same wyse vertues

maketh it: so ble. he ought al they thynk on the gouerne
ment of the royaume & who hath thadmystration of Just
tyce. and this shold be by hym self pryncipally. This sig
nifyeth the apell of golde that he holdeth in his left hand;
and for as moche as it apperteyneth vnto hym to punyshe
the rebelles hath he the scepter in his right hand. And for
as moche as mysericorde and trowth conserue and kepe the
king in his throne. Therefore ought a king to be merciful
and debonaire. for when a king or pryncce desireth or wyl
he be louyd of his peple let hym be gouerned by debonairete
And Valerius saith that debonairete perceyeth the hartes of
straungers. and amoliffeth and maketh softe the hartes
of his enemyes. Wherof he reherceth that phylostrotatus that
was duc of athenes had a daughter. Whom a man louyd
so ardently that on a tyme as he sawe her with her moder
sodaynly he cam and kyssed her. Wherof the moder was so
angry and sorowful that she went and requyred of her lord
the duc. that his heed myght be smyten of. The pryncce
answared to her and sayd. yf we shold slee them that loue
vs. What shal we do to our enemyes that hate vs. Ther
teynly this was the answer of a noble & debonaire pryncce
that suffred that vylonye don to his daughter & to hym
self yet more. This pryncce had also a frende that was na
med arispe that sayd on a tyme as moche vylonye vnto
the pryncce as ony man myght saye. And that myght not
suffyse hym. but he catchid hym in the vylage. the pryncce
suffred hym patiently in such wyse as though he had don
to hym no vylonye but curtesye. And when his sonnes
wold haue auengyd this vylonye. he comaunded them

that they shold not be so hardy so to doo / The next day
folowynge Arispe remembred of the right grette vylonye
that he had don to his frende and lord Without cause /
He fel in dyspayr and wold haue slayn hym self / When
the duc knewe and vnderstood that . he cam to hym and
said ne doubt the no thyng . and swore to hym by hys
faith that also wel he was and shold be his friend for that
forthon as euer he had ben tofore yf he wold . and thus he
respited hym of his deth by his donayre / and in lyke
wise rede we of the kyng pirre to whom was reported that
they of tarente had sayd grette vylonye of hym . for which
cause he maad al them to come tofore hym & demaunded
of them yf they had so said . than one of them answered &
said yf the Wyn & the candellis had not fayled this langa
ge had ben but a Jape . in regarde of that we had thought
to haue don / Then the kyng began to lauche . For they
had confessed that such langage as was said and spoken
was by dronkenhupp / And for this cause of donayre
the peple of tarente tooke for a custome that the dronken
men shold be punysshid . and the sobre men preyed / The
kyng thenne thus ought to loue humylyte and hate
falsyte after the holy scripture that speketh of euery man
generally . For the kyng in his royaume representeth god
& god is verite . and therefore hym ought to say no thyng
but yf hit were veritable and stable . Valerius rehereth
that Alcyandre wyth alle his ooste wold for to destroye
a cite which was named lapsare / When than a phy
losophre which had to name anaxymenes which had ben
tofore maistre & gouernour of alcyandre herd & vnderstood

of his comynge, cam agayn alexander to aske and requyre
of hym. And when he sawe alexander he supposed to haue
ayed his request / Alexander brake his remainde tofore
and swore to hym to for he asid eny thyng by his goddes
that such thyng as he ayed or requyred of hym. he wold
in no wise doen. Thanne the philosopher requyred hym
to destoye the cyte when Alexander vnderstood his aspe-
re the oth that he hath maad. he suffred the cyte to stand
and not to be destoyed. For he had leuer not to do his will
than to be periured and forsworn and do agaynst his oth
Cyprian sayeth that no grette man ne lord shold not
swere. But wete as is grette nede / and that the simple
parole or worde of a prynce ought to be more stable thenne
the oth of a marchaunt. Alas who kepe the prynces their
promyses in these dayes. not onely her promyses but their
othes by sealie and wrytynges and signes of their pro-
per handes. alle saylleth god amende hit.

A kyng also ought to hate all crueltie. For we see that
neuer dyed yet any piteous persone of cruel deeth. ne cruel
persone of good deeth. Therefore recounteth Valerius that
there was a man named there a Workman in metallie,
that maad a boole of copper and a litel wryket on the syde
wherby men myght put in them that shold be brent therein
And hit was maad in such manere. that they that
shold be put and enclosed therein shold crye no thyng
lyke to the voyce of a man but of an ore.

And thus maad he by cause men shold haue the lasse
pynne of them / When he had maad this boole of copper.
he presentyd hit vnto a kyng which was called philarde

that was so cruel a tyrant that he ruled in no thinge
 but in crueltie. And he tolde hym the condicions of the hole
 whan philoxene herde and vnderstood hym. he allowed and
 praised moche the Verke and after sayd to hym thou that
 art more cruel than I am shalt assay and prove first thy
 persente and refect and so maad hym to go in to the boole
 and dye an cruel death. Therefore sayth our the: there is no
 thinge more resonable thenne that a man dye of such death
 as he purchaseth vnto other. Also the living oughte souer-
 raynly kepe Justyce. Who maketh or keepeth a tyrant. With-
 out Justyce. of every fore: there must be grete wretched-
 nesse. Therefore rehereth Saynt Augustyn in a booke
 whiche is intituled the cyte of god that there was a theef
 of the see named diomedes that was a grete outlaw: & dyd
 so moche harme that the complayntes cam to forre almynde
 whiche dyd hym to be taken and brought a fore hym.
 And he demaunded hym wherfore he was so nervous and
 cruel in the see. And he answered to hym again. For
 as moche as thou art een a londe in the world. so am I
 another in the see. But for as moche as the cruel that I
 doo is in oon galee or tweyn the:fore I am called a theef
 But for as moche as thou doose in many shippes and
 with grete puyssaunce and power. Therefore arte thou
 called an Emperour. But yf fortune were for
 me in suche wyse. I wolde become a good man and
 better thenne I now am. But thou the more rycher and
 fortunat that thou art. The more worse art thou /
 alpyaunde: said to hym I shal chaunge thy fortune in
 suche wise as thou ne say that thou shalt do it by pouerte

but for tye and manayste. and so he made hym ryche and
this was he that afterwarde was a good pryncer & a good
Justice. The kyng ought to be soueraynly chaste and
this signefieth a quene that is only on his right side.
For it is to be treuyd and credyble that when the kyng
is a good man. Juste trewe and of good maners & con-
dicions that his children shal folowe gladly the same. for
a good sone and a trewe ought not to forsake and goo fro
the good condicions of his fader/ for certes it is agaynst
god and nature in partye when a man taketh other then
his proper wyf, and that see we by byrdes. of whom the
male and female haue to gyde the charge in keepyng and
notiffyng of their yonge fowles and byrdes. For somme
maner of fowles liuen them to their females only. As
hit appereth by storkes wyues and turtles. But the fow-
les that notiffith not their byrdes haue many wyues and
femels. As the cok that no thyng notiffith his chylde
And therfore amonge al the bestes that liuen, man and
Woman putteth most their entree and haue most care &
charge in notiffyng of their children. & therfore in they
agaynst nature in partye when they leue their wyues for
other Women. of this chastete writeth Valerius an exaple
& saith that ther was a man of some whyle was named
Sapio affrica for as moche as he had conquered affricque he
wel that he was of some torn. When he was of certyn yere
of age he conquerid cartage & toke moche people in estage
among whom he was presented with a right fayr mayde
for his solas & plaisur which was assured & handfast vnto
a noble yonge gentelman of cartage which was named

Indiuidible and anon as this gentil sapie kinelle that
not withstondyng that he was a prynce noble & lusty/dyd
do calle anon the parents & kynnesmen of them & deliuered
to them their doughter with out doynge of ony bylonye to
her. And the raunson or gold that they hady ordeyned
for their doughter. gaf hit euery del in dolhair to her.
and the yonge man that was her husbond save the fraun
chise & gentilnes of hym. turned hym self and the lattes
of the noble peple vnto the loue & alliaunce of the woma
nes. & this suffisith as touchyng the kyng.

The second chapitre of the second booke and treteth of the
forme and maners of the queene capitale

seconde



Thus ought the quene to be maad / She ought to be
a fayr lady sittynge in a chayer and crosstred With a
corone on her heed and claddē With a cloth of gold and a
mantel aboue furred With ermynes . and she shold sitte on
the left side of the kynge for the amplexions and embrasynges
of her husband like as it is sayd in Scripture in the
Canticles . her left arme shal be vnder my heed and her
right arme shal beclype and embrace me . In that she is
sette on his left side is by grace geuyn to the kynge by
nature and of right . For better is to haue a kynge by
successyon thenne by eleccion , For often tymes the elec
tours and chosers can not ne wyllē not accorde / And
so is the eleccion left , And otherwhyle they chese not the
beste and most able and conuenient / But hym that they
best loue , or is for them most proffyttable .

But when the kynge is by liguage and by trewe succes
sion . He is taught enseyned and norisshyd in hys
youth all good and vertuous catches and maners of his
fader . And also the prynces of the wyame dar not so
hardly meue warre agaynst a kynge hauyng a sone for
to rigne after hym / and so a quene ought to be chaste
wyse . of honest lyf . Wel manerd and not Curious in
norisshyng of her chyldren , Her Wysecom ought not
onely to appere in fait and werkes / but also in spekyng
that is to wote that she be secrete and telle not suche
thynges as ought to be holden secrete .

Wherefore it is a comyn prouerbe that Women can kepe
no counceyl / And accordyng thereto Macrobius reherceth
in the booke of the dreames of Scyppo . That there was

a chylde of Rome that was named papirus that on a tyme
Went With his fader Whych Was a senatour in to the cham
bre Where as they helde theyr councyl. And that tyme
they spake of suche maters as Was comaunded and a
greedy shold he kepte secret vpon payn of theyr liues
and so departed. And When he Was comen home from the
senatoure and fro the councyl Wyth his fader His mo
der demaunded of hym What Was the councyl and Wherof
they spake and had taryed so longe there. And the
chylde answered to her and sayd he durst not telle nor
saye hit for so moche as hit Was defended vpon payn of
deth. Thenne Was the moder more desirous to knowe
than she Was to fore. And began to flattere hym one
tyme. And afterwarde to menace hym that he shold
saye and telle to her What it Was. And When the
chylde sawe that he myght haue no reste of his moder in
no wyse. He made her first promyse that she shold kepe
hit secreete. And to telle hit to noon of the world.
And that won, he feyned a lesing or a lye and sayd
to her, that the Senatours had in councyl a grete quesi
on and dyffERENCE Whiche Was this, Whether hit Were
better and more for the comyn wele of Rome, that a man
shold haue two wyues / Or a wyf to haue also but
bondys. And When she had vnderstonde this, He
defended her that she shold telle hit to none other body.
And after this she went to her gossyp and tolde to her
this councyll secretly. And she tolde to another.
And thus every wyf tolde hit to other in secreete. Thus
hit happend anon after that alle the wyues of Rome

cam to the senatours when the senatours were assemblyd
and cryed With an hygh voyce . that they had leuer / And
also hit were better for the comyn wele that a Wyf shold
haue two husbondys than a man two Wyues , The sena-
tours heeryng this were gretely alasshyd and Wyf not
to say , ne what nor how to answer . tyl atte laste that
the childe papire refered to them all the caas and sayd how
hit was happend . And when the senatours herd and vn-
derstood the mater they were gretely alasshyd , & comendyd
gretely the Ingenye and Wyfte of the chylde that so Wyfely
contrived the lye rather than he wold discouere their coun-
ceyl . And forthwyth made hym a senatour . and establis-
shed and ordeyned fro than forthon that no chylde in any
Wyse shold entre in to the couceyl hows amonge them With
their fathers except papirus . Whome they wold that he shold
alwey be amonge them . Also a quene ought to be chaste
For as she is aboue al other in estate and reuerence . So
shold she be ensaumples vnto al other in her lyuynge honest
lye . Wherof Jerome writeth agaynst Jonynyan . that
there was a gentyl man of Rome named duele . and this
man was he that first found the maner to fight on the wa-
ter and had first the victorie / This duele had to his Wyf
one of the best Women and so chaste . that euery Woman
myght take ensaumples of her / and at that tyme the synne
of the fleshe was the grettest synne that any myght do
agaynst nature / And this sayd good Woman was named
plie . And so hit happend that this duele became so olde that
he stodep and quaked for age . and on a tyme one of his
aduersayres reprevyd & reprochyd hym sayeng that he had

a stynkyng breeth. And forthwyth he went home to hys
Wif al angry and abasshyd' and asked her Why & Wherefore
she had not tolde his defaute to hym that he myght haue
founded remedye to haue ben purgyd therof. & she answered
that as for as moche as she supposyd that euery man had
the same faute as wel as he, For she kyst neuer any man
nes mouth but her husbondes. O moche Was this Woman
to be prayсед and haue a synfuler laude benyng that
this defaute had not ben onely in her husbond, Wherefore she
suffryd hit patiently, in such a wise that her husbond liued
his defaute sonner by other thenne by her. Also we read
that there was a Wedowe named Anna, Whiche had a
frende that counceylled her to marrye. For she was yonge
fayr and ryche, to Whom she answered that she wold not
so doo in no wyse, For yf I shold haue an husbond as I
haue had & that he were as good as he was. I shold eue
ben aserd to lose hym, lyke as I lost that other. & thenne
shold I lyue alwey in fere and drede. Whiche I wyl not.
And yf hit happend me to haue a worse. What shold hit
proffyte me to haue an enyl husbond after a good, and
so she concluded that she wold kepe her chastete. Sagnet
Austyn reherceth in the booke de Ciuitate dei that in Rome
was a noble lady gentyl of maners and of hygh synners
named Lucrecia, And had an husbond named Colatyne
Whiche desired on a tyme the Emperours sone named tor
quyne thorguyllous or the proude and he was calle fyer
for to come dyne and sporte hym in his castel or manors
And Whan he was entred amonge many noble ladyes he
saw Lucrecia. And Whan thys emperours sone had seen &

aduertysed her depottes . her countenauice . her maner &
her traucte . he was all raysshed and espyed wyth her
loue forthwyth . And espyed a tyme when her husbond
Collatyn wente vnto the oost of thempour . and cam
in to the place where as lucrese was wyth her felawshyp
whom she receyued honourably . And when tyme came to
goe to bedde and slepe she maad redy a bedd rially for hym
as he apperteyned to the empoures sone . And this nyght
espyed where luercia laye . and when he supposid & knele
that every body was in his first slepe . he cam vnto the
bedde of lucrese and that one hand sette on her breste and
in that other hande a naked swerd . and sayd to her . Lu/
crese holde thy pees and crye not . For I am fyrte dar/
quynus sone . for yf thou speke any word thou shalt be
downd . and for fere she held her pees . Thene he began to
praye and promysse many thynges . and after he menaced
and threyned her that she shold enclyne to hym to doo his
wyll . and when he sawe he coude nor myght haue his en/
clince he sayd to her / yf thou do not my wyll / I shal slee
the and one of the seruantes and shal lay hym alle dree
by the syde . And thenne I shal say that I haue slayn you
for your rebeldye . and lucrese that than doubted more
the shame of the world than the deth . consentyd to hym /
And anon after as the empoures sone was departed .
the lady sent letters to her husbond her father her brethren
and to her frendes and to a man callid bruce counceyllour
and newe to tarquyn . and sayd to them that yesterday
sight the empoures sone cam in to myn howse as an ene/
mye in hysse of a frenche . and hath oppressed me . And

knowe thou Colatyn that he hath dishonoured thy brere,
And howe wel that he hath soyled and dishonoured my bo-
dy. yet myn herte is not Wherfore I beseeche the of pardon
forpessnes and absolution of the trespass But not of the
payne. And he that hath don this synne to me hit shal
ben to his myschaunce yf he doo your wrong. and because
no Roman take ensaumples of Lucresse and lyue after the
trespass. but that she in lyke wyse take ensaumples also of
the payne. And forthwith with a swerde that she felde
vnder her gowne or robe. she wof her self vnto the herte.
And dyed forthwith tofore them. and thenne sent the
counceyllers and her husband collatyn and alle her other
frendes swore by the blood of Lucresse that they shold ne-
uer reste vnto the tyme that they had put out of Rome tar-
quyn and al his bygne. And that neuer after none of
them shold come to dygryte. and at this was don. For
they bare the ded corpe thurgh the cite and meyned the
peple in such wyse. That tarquyn was put in exyle. and
Syppes his sone was slayn. A quene ought to be wel
manered and amonge alle she ought to be amorous and
shamefast. For when a woman hath lost shamefastnes
she may not can not beel be chaste. Wherfore sayeth Sym-
machus that they that be not shamefast haue no conser-
uence of honye. And saynt ambrose sayeth that one of
the best parymentes and makech a woman most praye in
her person. is to be shamefast. Seneca writeth that
there was one named ardelio which was so shamefast
that she put in a resolu of fether a certeyn somme of
money. and put hit vnder the bed of a poore friend of

aduertysed her depertes . her countenauce . her maners . &
her beaulte . he was alle rauysshed and espyred wth her
loue forth wth . And espyed a tyme when her husbond
Collatyn wente vnto the oost of the emperour . and cam
in to the place where as lucrese was with her felawshyp
whom she receyued honourably . And when tyme came to
goe to bedde and slepe she maad redy a bedde rially for hym
as hit apperteyned to the emperours sone . And this sictus
espyed where lucrecia laye . and when he supposid & knele
that euery body was in his first sleep . he cam vnto the
bedde of lucrese and that one hand sette on her breste and
in that other hande a naked swerd . and sayd to her . Lu/
crese holde thy pees and crye not . For I am fyrte tar/
quynus sone . for yf thou speke any word thou shalt be
dew / and for fere she helde her pees . Thene he began to
praye and promyse many thynges . and after he menaced
and threatened her that she shold enclyne to hym to doo his
wylle . and when he sawe he coude nor myght haue his en/
tente he sayd to her / yf thou do not my wylle / I skal slee
the and one of thy seruantis and skal lay hym alle ded
by thy syde . And thenne I skal say that I haue slayn you
for your rebaudye . and lucrese that than doubted more
the shame of the worlde than the deth . consentyd to hym /
And anone after as the emperours sone was departed .
the lady sent letters to her husbond her fader her brethren
and to her frendes and to a man callyd braute counceyllour
and neuewe to tarquyn / and sayd to them that yestoday
Synce the emperours sone cam in to myn howe as an ene/
mye in lyknes of a frenche . and hath oppressed me . And

knowe thou Colatyn that he hath dishonoured thy bedde,
And howe well that he hath soyled and dishonoured my bo-
dy. yet myn herte is not. Wherefore I beseeche the of pardon
forpynnes and absolucion of the trespas but not of the
payne. And he that hath don this synne to me hit shal
ben to his myschaunce yf ye doo your deuote. and because
no woman take ensauple of successe and lyue after the
trespas. but that she in lyke wyse take ensauple also of
the payne. And forthwyth With a swerde that she helde
vnder her gowne or robe, she wof her self vnto the herte
And deyd forthwyth tofore them. and thence came the
counceyller and her husband collatyn and alle her other
frendes swore by the blood of successe that they wold ne-
uer reste vnto the tyme that they had put out of Rome tar-
quyn and al his lygne. And that neuer after none of
them shold come to dygnyte. and al this was don. For
they bare the ded corpe thurgh the cyte and meuryd the
peple in such wyse. That tarquyn was put in cyle. and
Sygys his sone was slayn. A quene ought to be well
manerd and amonge alle she ought to be tuncerous and
shamefast / For when a woman hath lost shamefastnes
she may nez can not well be chaste. Wherefore sayth Sy-
machus that they that ben not shamefast haue no conscie-
ence of luyurys. And saynt ambrose sayth that one of
the best pamentes and maketh a woman most fayr in
her persone. is to be shamefast. Senecue rehereth that
there was one named archyelle which was so shamefast
that she put in a pelowe of fethers a certeyn somme of
money. and put hit vnder the heed of a poure frende of

herpys . Whiche dyssembled his pouerte and? Holde not nor
durst not be a knower of his pouerte. for shame she durst
not geue it openly . but had leue that he shold fynde hys
than that she had geuen hit hym. Wherefore other while men
shold geue & helpe her friends so secretly . that they knowe
not when it come , for when we kepe it secret and? make
no. haste therof . our dees and dookes shal please god and
them also . A Quene ought to be chosen when she shal be
weddyd of the moste honest kynrede and peple / for often ty
mes the daughters folowen the catches & maners of theym
that they be; dyscended from . Wherof Valerius maximus
sayth that there was one that wold marie . Whiche cam to
a philosopher and aske counceyl what wyf he myght best
take . he answered that he shold take her that thou knowest
certeynly that her moder & her grauntame haue ben chaste
and wel condycioned . for such moder / such daughter co
munely / Also a quene ought to teche her chyl dren to ben
contynent and kepe chastite entierly . as hit is wyten in
ecclesiastes . yf thou haue sones enseigne and? teche them
and yf thou haue daughters kepe wel them in chastite .

For helmonde reherorth that euery kynge & pryncce ought
to be a clerke for to commaunde to other to stude and? rede
the lawe of our lord? god . and therefore wrote the emperour
to the kyng of fraunce that he shold to lerne his children
sones the seven sciences liberal . and sayd amonge other
thynges that a kyng not lettrid resembleth an asse cow
ned / The emperour octouran maad his sones to be taught
and lerne to wryt . to sprynge and? lepe / to Juste / to
playe wyth the ape and swerde . and al maner thyng that

aperteyneth to a knyght and his daughters he made hem
to lerne to sewe .to spyne to labour as wel in wolle as
in linnen cloth .and al other werkis langyng to women,
And whan his frendes demaunded wherfore he dyd so . he
answered how wel that he was lord and Spere of alle the
world .yet wyfte he not what shold befall of his children
and whether they shold falle or come to pouerte or noo /
and therefore yf they conne a good crafte they may alwey
lyue honestly . The quene ought to kepe her daughters in
alle chastyte . For we rede of many maydens that for theis
virgynyte haue ben maad quenes . For Poule the hysto
riagraph of the lombardes reherceth that ther was a du
chesse named remonde which had thre sonnes & n daughters
And hit happend that the kynge of hongre cantauus as
sayled a castel where she and her chyldren were inne /
And on a day she behelde her enemyes . and amonge alle
other she sawe the kyng that he was a wel faryng and a
goodly man . Anone she was espyed and taken wyth
his loue .and that so sore that forthwyth she sent to hym
that she wold delyuer ouer the castel to hym yf he wold
take her to his wyf and wedde her . And he agreed thereto
and sware that he wold haue her to his wyf on that con
dicion . Whan than the kyng was in the castel . his peple
took men and women and alle that they fonde her soones
fledde from her / of whome one was named Ermoaldus &
was yongest . and after was duc of concuentin & sithon
kyng of the lombardis / and the two susters toke chy
lrens and put hem vnder her armes next the flesch and
bytwene her paypes / that of the hete and chauffyng the

flessh of the chikens stanke and When so Was that they
of hongre Wold haue enforced and defolled anone they
felte the stench and fledde aWay and so left hem sayeng
hye holle these lombardis strake . and so they kepte theye
virgynite . Wherefore that one of hem after Ward Was
quene of fraunce / and that other quene of almayn and
hit happend thenne that the kyng caranus toke acordyng
to his promyse the duchesse / and lay Wyth her one nyght
for to saue his ooth . & on the morne he made her comune
vnto al the hungres / And the thyrde day after he dyd doo
put a staf of trece fro the nether parte of her . throug her
bede vnto her throte or mouthe . for by cause of the luste
of her flessh she betrayed her cyte and sayd suche husbond
suche Wyf . and this suffyseth of the quene



The thyrd chappytze of the second traytze treteth of the
 Alphyns her offyces and maners capitulo treis.



The alphyns ought to be maad and formed in mane
 re of Iuges sittynge in a chayer Wyth a booke open
 tofore theyr eyen, and that is by cause that some causes
 ben crymynel, And some ben cyuyle as about possessions
 and othar temporel thynges and trespasses / and therefore
 ought to be two Iuges in the royaume / one in the black
 for the first cause, And that other in Whyt as for the se-
 cond. Theyr offyce is for to counceylle the kyng. And
 to make by his comasidermentis good lawes, to enforme

alle the wyse in good and vertuous maners . And to
Juge and gyve sentence Wel and trewly after the case is
had . and to counceyl Wel and Justely alle them that axe
counceyl of hem . Wyth out haupnyng of ony eye opene to
ony persone . And to estudye diligently in suche Wyse and
to ordeigne alle that, that ought to be kept be obseryed be
faste and stable . So that they be not founde corrupt . for
yeste for favour ne for signage ne for enuye variable .
And as touchyng the first poynt Seneque saith in the
book of benefetes that the poyr diogenes Was more strong
than alexandre / For Alexandre coude not gyve so moche
as diogenes Wold refuse . Marcus cursus a romayn of
grete renomee saith thus . that When he had besieged and
assayled them of Samente / and beneuentane Which herde
that he Was poyr . they took a grete masse and Wedge
of gold & sendyd hit to hym prayeng hym that he Wold
rescue hit and leue his assault and siege . and When they
came With the present to hym they fond hym sittynge on
the erthe and ete his mete out of platere and dysshes of
tre and of Wode . and did than her message / to Whom he
answerd and said that they shold goo home and saye to
them that sente them that Marcus cursus loueth better
to be lord and Wyne riches than riches shold Wyne
hym . For by batayle he shal not be ouercome and Wyn ;
quysshed / nor by gold ne siluer he shal not be corrupt ne
cowpied . Oftentymes that thyng taketh an euyl ende
that is vntrewe for gold and siluer . and that a man is
subget vnto money may not be lord thereof / Helymond
reherceth that demostene demaunded of aristodone how moche

he had wonne for pletynge of a cause for hys client. And
he answered a mark of gold. Demostene answered to
hym agayn / that he had wonne as moche for to holde hys
pees and speke not thus the tungenes of aduocates & men
of lawe beyn perilous & domegeable. yet they must be had
yf thou wilt wyne thy cause. for with money and yeste
thou shalt wyne. & oftentymes they selle as wel theyr
silence / as their utteraunce. Valerius wherwith that the se
natours of rome took counceill to geve of two persones
that one was pure & that other rich and couctous, which
of hem bothe were most apte for to sende to gouerne and
Iuge the contrey of spayn. And sappone of affricke said
that none of hem bothe were good ne proffitable to be
sent thider. For that one hath no thyng. And to that
other may no thyng suffyse. And despised in hys
sayenge alle pouerte and auarice in a Iuge. For a co
uctous man hath nede of an halpenny. for he is seruaunt
and bonde vnto money / and not lord thereof but pouerte
of herte and of wyll ought to be greatly allowed in a
Iuge. Therefore we see that as longe as the Romaynes
louyd pouerte they were lordes of alle the world. For
many there were that exposed al theyr goodes for the co
myn wel. and for that was most proffitable for the co
mynalte that they were so pure that when they were ded
they were buryed and brought to erthe with the co
myn good. And theyr daughters were maryed by
the comaundment of the senatours. but sithen that they
despised pouerte / & begonne to gadre riches. & haue made
grette bataylles. they haue vsed many synnes and so the

comyn Wele perished / for ther is no synne but that it rig
neth there. there is none that is so blissful as he that hath
al the World in despite / For he is in pces that dredith no
man / & he is riche that coueyteth no thyng / Valere wherwith
that he is not riche that moche hath / but he is riche that hath
litel & coueyteth no thyng / than thus late the Judges take
hede that they enclyne not for loue or for hate in ony Ju
gement / for theofrast saith that all loue is blynde . there
loue is . there can not right Jugement be gyuen . for all
loue is blynde . and therfore loue is none eyn Judge for
ofte tymes lous Jugeth a folle and lothly Woman to be
fayr / And so wherwith quinte curse in his first booke that
the grete godaches sayth the same to Alpyrandre / Men
may saye in this caas that nature is euyl / For euery
man is lasse aduysed and worse in his owne feet and
cause than in anotha mannyng . And therfore the Judges
ought to kepe hem wel from Jre in Jugement, Tullyus
sayth that an angry and yrouis persone beneth that for
to do euyl is good councyl / and socrates saith that two
thynges ben contrarious to councyl / & they ben hastynes
and Wrath . and galeren sayth in alexandrye , yf yre or
Wrath ouecome the Whan thou sholdest geue Jugement ,
Weye all thyng in the balaunce so that thy Jugement be
not enclyned by loue . ne by yest . ne fauour of persone for
ne not thy corage . Thelemond wherwith that cambyses
kyng of perce which was a rightwis kyng had an vn /
rightwis Judge . which for enye & euyl Wyll had dāpned
a man Wrongfully and agaynst right / Wherfore he dyd
hem to be flayn al quyk and made the chayer or siege of

Jugement to be couerid With his skyn/and made his sone
Juge and to sitte in the chayer on the skyn of his fader. to
thende that the sone shold Juge rightwisly, & abhorre the
Jugement & payne of his fader. Judges ought to punyshe
the defaultes egally/& fulfille the lawe that they ordeyne.
Caton saith accomplishe and do the lawe in such wyse as
thou hast ordeigned & geuen, Valerius wherewith that calen
gius a consul had a sone which was taken in aduoultre
& therfore after the lawe at that tyme he was dampned to
lose bothe his eyen. the fader wold that the lawe shold be
accomplished in his sone wyth out fauour. but al the cite
was moued herewith and wold not suffer hit /but in the
ende his fader was vanquysht by theyr prayers. And
ordained that his sone shold lese one eye whiche was put
out. And he hym self lost an other eye. And thus
was the lawe obserued and kept. And the prayer of
the people was accomplished, We wote that there was
a councyllour of rome that had geuen counsaile to ma
ke a statute that who some eny that entred in to the se
natour and a swerde gyrt aboute hym shold be ded. Than
hit happend on a tyme that he came from without & entred
in to the senatoir & his swerd gyrt about hym. Wherof he
toke none heed & one of the senatours told hym of hit, &
whan he knewe hit & remembred the statute, he drew out his
swerde & slewe hym self tofore them. rather to dye than to
breke the lawe /for whos dethe alle the senatours maad
greate sorowe / But alas we fynde not many in these day
es that so do. But they do lyke as anastasyus saith that
the lawes of some be like vnto the nettis of spynoppis

that take no grette bestes and folles but let goo and flee
though/ but they take fleyes & gnattes & such small thynges/
In like wise the lawes now adayes ben not execu-
ted but vpon the poure peple & the grette & rich breke hit &
goo though with al /and for this cause seueren battelles &
discordes & make the grette & rich men to take by force &
strengthe lordshippes & seignories vpon the small & poure
peple/ & this don they specially that ben gentil of lignage
& poure of goodes / & causeth them to robbe & reue/ and yet
constrayne them by force to serue them. & thys is no mer-
uayle/ for they that drede not to angre god, ner to breke
the lawe & to false hit/ falle often tymes by force in moche
curfodnes & Wickednes. But when the grette peple do accord-
dyng to the lawe, and punyshe the transgressours sharps-
ly/ The comyn peple absteyne & Withdraue hem fro doynge
of euyl and chastiseth hem self by theyr example / And
the Iuges ought to entende for to studeye. For yf the
 Smythes the carpentiers the Wignours and other crafty-
men say that it is not necessarye to studeye for the comyn
proffit/ And glorefye them in their conyng and say that
they ben proffitable than shold the Iuges studeye and con-
templaire moche more than they in that that shold be for
the comyn Wele. Wherefore saith seneke beleue me that they
seme that they do no thyng / they do more than they that
laboure for they do spirituall & also corporal Werkes. And
therefore amonge artificers ther is no pleasant rest/ but that
reson of the Iuges hath maad & ordeyned hit. & therefore
angelius saith in /li/ atticoz de socrate, that socrate was
on a tyme so pensif that in an holt naturel day, he held one

estate that he ne meued mouth ne eye ne foot ne hand but
Was as he had ben deed or rauysshed, and When one demaun-
ded hym Wherfore he Was so pensif. he answered in al Worlde-
ly thynges and labours of the same and helpe hym four-
geys and Extezeyn of the Worlde, and Valerius testifieth
that arnarde a knyght Was so sage Wyse and laborous
in pensifnes of the comyn Wele / that When he Was sette
atte table for to ete, he forgate to put his hand vnto the
mete to fede hym self / and therfore his Wyf that Was na-
med Mellyse Whom he had taken more to haue her compa-
nye and felawshyp than for any other thyng / Fedde
hym to thende that he shold not dye for longre in his pen-
sifnes. Didimus sayd to alexandre We be not dysseynis
in the Worlde but straungers / nor be ben not born in the
Worlde for to dwelle and abyde alwey therein, but for to
goo and passe thraugh hit. We haue doon noon euyl dede
but that it is Worthy, to be punysshed & We to suffre payne
therfore, and thenne We may goon With open face & good
conscience. And so may We goo lightly and apertly the
Way that We hope and purpose to goo. Thys suffyseth as
for the Alphyns /

The fourth chapiter of the second booke treateth of the ordre
of chualtrye and of knyghthoode and of her officers and
maners capitulo quarto



The knyght ought to be maad al armed vpon an
t hors in suche wise that he haue an helme on his heed
and a speere in his right hond / & couered With his shelde, a
sword & a mace on his lyft syde . clad With an halberk &
plates tofore his breste . legge harnoyes on his legges . spo
res on his heelis . on hys handes hys gauntelettes . hys
hors wel broken & taught and apte to bataylle & coueryd
With hys armes . When the knyghtes ben maad they ben
bapned or bathed . That is the signe that they shold lede

a newe lpf and newe maners . also they make alle the
nyght in prayers and orisons vnto god that he wil geue
hem grace that they may gete that thyng that they may
not gete by nature . The kynge or pryncce geueth a boue
them a swerde in signe that they shold abyde and kepe
hym of whom they take their dispence and dignyte .
Also a knyght ought to be wyse lyteralle / trawe . strong
and ful of mercy and ppyte and keper of the peple and of
the lawe / and right as cheualyre passeth other in vertue
in dignyte in honour and in reuerence . right so ought he
to surmounte alle other in vertue . for honour is no thyng
ellys but to do reuerence to another persone for the good &
vertuous disposicion that is in hym . A noble knyght
ought to be wyse and prouyd tofore he be maad knyght .
hit behoued hym that he had long tyme vpon the barre &
armes . that he may be expert and wyse for to gouerne
the other . For sithen that a knyght is capytayn of a ba-
tyle . the lpf of them that shal be vnder hym lyeth in his
honde / and therefore behoueth hym to be wyse & wel aduy-
sed . For somtyme art craft and engyne is more wo:the
than strengthe or hardynes of a man that is not proued
in armes / for other while it hapeth that when the pryncce
of the batayle affyeth and trusteth in his hardynes and
strengthe . and wol not vse wysedom and engyne for to
renne vpon his enemyes / he is vanyquysshed & his peple
slayn . therefore saith the philosopher that no man shold
chese yong peple to be capytayns & gouernours . for as moche
as ther is no certeynte in her wysdom / alexandre of macedo-
ne vanyquysshed & conquered Egipte . Jude . calde Affrique

and assyrie vnto the marches of bragmans more by the
counceyl of olde men than by the strengthe of the yonger
men. We re in the hystorie of irome that there was a
knyght whiche had to name malechete that was so wyse &
trewe that when the emperour Theodosius was dede. He
made mortal warre agens his brother germany whiche was
named Gylas or Guye. for as moche as this sayd guye
wold be lord of affrique with out leue and wyll of the se-
natours / and thys sayd Guye had slayn the two sones of
his brother malechete, And dyd moche torment vnto the
cristen peple. and afore that he shold come in to the felde
agens his brother Guyon. he went in to an yle of cyprus
and laded with hym al the cristen men, that had ben sent
ther in cyle. And maad hym alle to praye with hym
by the space of thre dayes and thre nyghtes. For he had
grette affyaunce and truste in the prayers and orisons of
good folke and specially that no man myght counceyl ne
helpe but god / And thre dayes tofore he shold fight saynt
Ambrose whiche was dede a litil tofore apperyd to hym &
shewed hym by reuelacion the tyme and howe that he shold
haue victorie. And for so moche as he had ben in dayes
and thre nyghtes in oryson & prayers and that he was
assured for to haue victorie, he faught with fyue thou-
sand men agens his brother that had in his compaignie four
score thousand men. and by goddes helpe he had victorie
And when the barbarynes that were comen to helpe guyon
saw the discomfiture they fledde a wey. And guyon fledde
also in to affrique by shyppe. And when he was there a-
rued he was sone after stranglid. These two knyghtes

of Whom I speke Were two brethren germanys . Whiche
Were sent in to affrike for to defende the comyn Wele .
In lyke wyse Judas machabeus Jonathas and Symon
his brethren put them self in the mercy and garde of our
lord god , And agayn the enemyes of the labe of god
With litil people in regarde of the multitude that Were a
gayn them , And had also victorie / The knyghtes
ought to ben trewe to theyr prynces , For he that is not
trewe leseth the name of a knyght . Vnto a pryncer trouth
is the grettest precious stone Whan hit is medlid wyth
Justyce . Paule the historiagraph of the lombardes writ
teth that there Was a knyght named Enulphus : Was
of the cyte of pappe that Was so trewe and faythful to
his lord and kynge named patharich that he put hym in
prysse of deth for hym . For hit happend that Grymalde
duc of buneuentaynes of Whom We haue touched tofore in
the chapytre of the quene . dyd so slec Godebert Whiche
Was kynge of the lombardes by the hande of goribert duc
of tarente / Whiche Was descended of the crowne of lom
bardes . And this grymalde Was maad kyng of lombard
ye in his place and after this put and banysshed out of
the contraye this patharich Whiche Was brother vnto the
kyng Godebert . that for fere and drede fledde in to hong
rye . And thenne this knyght enulphus dyd so moche
that he gat the pce agayn of his lord patharich agaynst
the kyng grymalde . And that he had licence to come
out of hongrye where he Was alwey in prysse . and so he
came and cryed hym mercy / And the kyng Grymalde
gaf hym leue to dwelle and to lyue honestly in his contraye .

alwey forseen that he took not vpon hym & named hym
self kyng. How wel he was kyng by right / This doon
a litel while after / the kyng that beleuyd euyl tonges /
thought in hym self how he myght brynge this patharich
vnto the deth . and al thys knelde wel the knyght Enul
phus . Which came the same nyght wyth his squyer for to
vyfite his lord . and maad hys squyer to vnclothe hym &
to lye in the bedde of his lord . and maad his lord to rise
and clothe hym wyth the clothes of his squyer / And in
this wyse brought hym out . brablynge and betynge hym
as his seruaunt by them that were assigned to kepe the
holles of patharich that he shold not escape . Which supposid
that hit had been his squyer that he entreated so outrage
ously . and so he brought hym vnto his holles which Joy
ned wyth the Wallles of the toun . And at mydnyght
When al men were a slepe . he lete a down his maistre by a
corde . Which took an hors out of the pasture and fledde
vnto the cyte of aast & there cam to the kyng of fraunce
And When it cam vnto the morne hit was founden that
enulphus and his squyer had wepyed the kyng and the
Watchmen / Whom the kyng comaunded shold be brought
tofore hym / and demaunded of them the maner how he
was escapyd . and they tolde hym the trouthe / Thenne
the kyng demaunded his counceyl of what deth they had re
serued to dye that had so don and brought agayn the
Wylle of hym . Somme said that they shold ben honged
& some said they shold be flayn . and other said that they
shold be beheaded . Than said the kyng by that lord that
maad me . they ben not worthy to dye . but for to haue

moche Worshyp and honour. For they haue ben trewe to
theyr lord. Wherfore the kyng gaf hem a grette saluacion and
honour for theyr feet. And after hit happend that the pro
pre squyer and seruaunt of Godeberd slewe the trayter
Gorybalde that by treson had slayn his lord at a feste
of Saynt John in his cyte of tarente Wherof he was lord
and duc. Thus ought the knyghtes to loue to gyde. &
eche to put his lyf in auenture for other. For so ben they
the stronger and the more doubted. Lyke as were the no
ble knyghtes Joab and abyssay that fought agaynst the
Isprenes and amonytes and were so trewe that one to that
other that they waynquysshed theyr enemyes. And were
so ioyned to gyde that yf the frendes were stronger then
that one of them. that other helpe hym. We reade that
demon and phisias were so right parfycht frendes to gy
de that whan dionysius whiche was kyng of zeaille had
Jugged one to deth for his trespaas in the cyte of siracu
sane Whom he wold haue executed. he desired grace & leue
to goo in to his contree for to dispose and ordeyne his testa
ment. And his felawe pledged hym and was selbte for
hym vpon his heed that he shold come agayn. Wherof they
that herde and sawe this. helde hym for a fool & blamed
hym. And he sayd alwey that he repentyd hym no thyng
at all. For he knewe wel the trowth of his felawe. and
whan the day cam and the houre that execution shold be
don. his felawe cam and presented hym self tofore the
Juge. and discharged his felawe that was pledge for hym
Wherof the kyng was gretely ahusshyd. and for the grette
trowth that was founden in hym. he pardonyd hym and

prayed hem sothe that they wold receyue hym as thye
grette frende and? felowe . lo her the vertues of loue, that
a man ought not to doubt the deeth for his frende / Lo
What it is to doo for a frende . and to lede a lyf wthout
and to be wyth out cruelte + to loue & not to hate / Whiche
causeth to doo good ayenst euyl . and to toorne payne in to
benefete and to quench cruelte . Anthonyus sayth that
Julius cesar lefte not lightly frendshyp and? amptye /
But whan he had hit . he receyued hit faste & mayntened
hit alwey . Scipion of affrique saith that there is no
thyng so stronge as for to maynteyne loue vnto the deeth
The loue of concupiscence and of lecherie is sone dissol-
uyd and broken . But the verray trewe loue of the comyn
wele and proffyt now a dayes is selde founden . Where shal
thou fynde a man in thys dayes that wyl expose hym self
for the worship & honour of his frende or for the comyn
wele . selde or neuer shal he be founden . also the knyghtes
shold be large and liberal / For whan a knyght hath re-
garde vnto his synguler proffyt by his couetyse . he dys-
pyleth his peple / For whan the souldoyers se that they
put hem in peryl . and their mayster wyl not paye hem
theyr wages lyberally / but intendeth to his owne propre
gayn and proffyt . than whan the enemyes come they
toorne sone her backes and flee often tymes / And thus hit
happeth by hym that intendeth more to gete money than
victorye that his auarice is ofte tymes cause of his con-
fusion / Therne lete euery knyght take heed to be lyberalle
in such wyse that he wene not ne suppose that his saretie
be to hym a grette wyngynge or gayn / And for thys cause

he be the lasse loupd of his peple . and that his aduoca :
re Wythdrawe to hym them by large geuyng . For ofte
tyme batayle is auanced more for getyng of siluer . than
by the force and strengthe of men . For men see alle day
that such thynges as may not be achyued by force of
nature . ben gotten and achyued by force of money . And
for so moche it behoueth to see wel to that When the tyme
of bataille cometh that he howe not ne make no trespasse
7 For no man may be rich that leuyth his owne sepyng
to gete and take of other / Than alwey al her gayn and
Wyngyng ought to be comyn emong except theyr armes
7 For in like wyse as the vycorye is comune so shold the
dispoyle and botye be comune vnto them . And therfore
dauyd that gentyl knyght in the first booke of kynges in
the last chapytre made a lawe . that he that afoore lehynde
by maladye or sekenees in the tentes shold haue as moche
part of the butyn as he that had ben in the batayle . And
for the loue of this lawe he was maad after ward kynge
of Israel . Alixandre of macedone cam on a tyme lyke
a symple knyght vnto the court of parrs kynge of Vnde
for to espye thastate of the kyng and of the knyghtes of
the court . And the kyng receyued hym right welshyp :
fully . And demaunded of hym many thynges of Alix
ander and of his constance and strengthe . nothyng be
nyng that he had ben alixander / but aneygone one of
his knyghtes . and after he had hym to dyner . and When
they had seruyd alixander in vessayl of gold and syluer
With dyuerse metes . After that he had eten such as pleased
hym he voyded the mete & toke the vessayl and helde hit to

hym self and put hit in his besorn or sleups. Wherof he
was accusid vnto the kyng. After dyner thene the kyng
callid hym and demaunded hym Wherfore he had taken hys
wayssayl and he answered. Sir kyng my lord I pray the
to vnderstonde and take heed thy self & also thy knyghtes
I haue herd moche of thy grette hyghnes. and that thou
art more myghty and puyssaunt in cheualrye and in dis
pencis than is Alisaunder. and therefore I am come to the
a pure knyght Whiche am named Antygone for to serue
the. Than hit is the custome in the court of Alexander
that What thyng a knyght is seruyd Wyth. alle is hys
mete and wyssell and cuppe. and therefore I had supposid
that this custome had ben kept in thy court. for thou art
richer than he / When the knyghtes herde this. anon they
lefte prais. and went to serue Alisaunder. and thus he
drew to hym the hertes of hem by pestes. Whiche after
ward slewe prais that was kyng of ynde. and they maad
Alisaunder kyng therof. Therefore remembre knyght
alwey that Wyth a closid and shette purse shalt thou neuer
haue victorie. Ouyde saith that he that taketh pestes. he
is glady therwyth. For they wyne wyth pestes the her
tes of the goddes and of men. For yf Iuppiter were an
gryd. With pestes he wold be plesid. the knyghtes ought
to be stronge not onely of body but also in corage. there
ben many stronge and grette of body. that ben faynt and
feble in the herte / he is stronge that may not be wyquyssh
ed and ouercome. how wel that he suffrith moche oth
er Whyle. And so we beleue that they that be not ouergrate
ne ouer lital ben most corageous and beste in bataylle.

We rede that cadmus duc of athenes shold haue a bataylle
agayn them of polipe. And he was warned and had a re-
uelacion of the goddes / that they shold haue the victorie
of whom the pryncer shold be slayn in the bataylle. And
the pryncer which was of a grette courage and true herte
took other armes of a pure man / and put hym self in
the fronte of the bataylle to thende that he myght be slayn
and so he was. For the right true pryncer had leuer
dye / than his peple shold be ouercomen. and so they had the
victorie / Certes hit was a noble and a fayne thyng to
expose hym self to the deeth for to defende his contraye.
But no man wold do so but yf he hoppe to haue a better
thyng therfore. Therefore the laue sayth that they lyue
in her so blees gloriously that ben slayn in the warre for
the comyn wele. A knyght ought also to be merciful &
pietous. For there is no thyng that maketh a knyght
so renowned as is when he sauyth the lyf of them that he
may see. For to shed and spylle blood is the condycion
of a wylde best and not the condycion of a good knyght.
Therefore we rede that scilla that was duc of the romayns
with out had many fair victories agaynst the romayns &
within that were contrarie to hym in so moche that in the
bataylle of puylle he slewe y^e vii thousand men. And in
champaigne lxx thousand / and after in the cyte he slewe
thre thousand men vnarmed. & when one of his knygh-
tes that was named Cyprius catulus sawe this cruelte
sayd to hym, Seffe now and suffre them to lyue and be
merciful to them with whom we haue ben victorious. &
with whom we ought to lyue / For it is the most hest

and fair vengeance that a man may do, as to spare them
and give hem her lxx of whom he may sle. Therefore Joab
caryed when absalon was slayn. he solwed a trumpet
that his peple shold nomore rene and see theyr adversa-
ries. For there were slayn about xx thousand of them.
And in like wyse dyd he when he fought ayenst Abner
and abner was vanquysshed and fledge. For where that
he went in the chas he comaunded to spare the peple.
The knyghtes ought to kepe the peple for when the peple
ben in their tentis or castellis, the knyghtes ought to kepe
the Watch. For this cause the romayns callyd them le-
gyons, and they were made of dyverse prouynces and of
dyverse nacions to thetente to kepe the peple. And the
peple shold entende to theyr Werke. For no crafty man
may bothe entende to his craft and to fight. How may a
crafty man entende to his Worke selwely in tyme of Warre
but yf he be kept. and right in such wyse as the knyghtes
shold kepe the peple in tyme of pees in like wyse the peple
ought to purueye for theyr dispencis. how shold a plow
man be selwe in the feld but yf the knyghtes made dayly
Watch to kepe them. For like as the glorie of a kynge
is vpon his knyghtes. So it is necessarpe to the knygh-
tes that the marchauntes crafty men and comyn peple be
defended and kept. Therefore late the knyghtes kepe
the peple in such wyse that they may enioye pees and gete
and gadre the costis and expencis of them bothe. We red
that athis sayd to dauid which was a knyght. I make
the my kept a defendar al wey. thus shold the knyghtes
haue grette zeale that the lawe be kept. For the mageste

Kyal ought not onely to be garnysshed wth armes but
also wth good lawes. And therfore shold they labour
that they shold be wel kepte. Turgeus pompeus wherwith
of a noble knyght named ligurgus that had made auni
cient lawes the whiche the peple wold not kepe ne obserue
for they semed hard for them to kepe and wold constrayne
hym to rapelle & sette hym a parte. When the noble knyght
saue that he dyd the peple to vnderstande that he had not
made them. but a god that was named apollo delphynus
had made them. & had comaunded hym that he shold wth the
peple kepe them. these wordes auayled not they wold in
no wyse kepe them. And than he sayd to them that it was
good that or the sayd lawes shold be broken that he had
gyuen to them / that he shold goo and speke wth the god
Apollo / For to gete of hym a dispensacion to breke him
and that the peple shold kepe and obserue them tyl that he
retorned agayn / the peple accorded thereto and swore that
they shold kepe them vnto the tyme he retorned. than the
knyght went in to grece in exyle and dwellyd there alle
his lyf. And when he shold dye he comaunded that his
body shold be cast in the see. for as moche as yf his body
shold be borne thider. the peple shold bene to be quyt of
theyr othe. and shold kepe no lenger his lawes that were
so good & resonable. that the knyght had leue to forsake
his owne contrie & to dye so than to reple his lawes.
and his lawes were such. The first lawe was that the pe
ple shold obeye and serue the prynces. And the pryn
ces shold kepe the people and do Justice on the malefac
tors. the second lawe that they shold be al sobre. For

he Wyse Wel that the labour of cheualrye is most stronge.
Whan they lyue soblye the thyrd Was that no man shold
bye any thyng for money but they shold chaunge Ware for
Ware / and one marchaundyse for another / the fourth Was
that men shold sette nomore by money ner kepe hit more
than they wold dunge or filthe / the fyfthe he ordeyned for
the comyn Wele alle thyngs by ordre / that the prynces
myght meue and make bataylle by her power . to the mai-
ters counceyllours he comysed the Jugementis / and the
annuel rates . to the senatours the keepyng of the lawe.
and to the comyn peple he gaf power to chese such Judges
as they wold haue / the sixte he ordeyned that alle thyngs
shold be reparted egally & al thyng shold be comyn . & none
richer than other in patrimony / the vii that euery man shold
eete lyke Wel in comyn oppnyly . that richesse shold not be
cause of luxurie Whan they ete secretly . the viii that the
yonge yple shold not haue but one gowne or garment in
the yere / The ix that men shold sette poure children to la-
boure in the felde to thende that they shold not employe
theyr yongthe in playes and folpe but in laboure . The
x that the maydens shold be married wythout dowaire
in such wyse that no man shold take a Wyf for money .
The xi that men shold rather take a Wyf for her good ma-
ners and vertues than for her riches / the xii that men
shold worshippe the olde & auncient men for theyr age and
more for theyr wysecom than for her riches / This knyght
made none of these lawes but he first kepte hem /

The fyfthe chapytre of the second booke of the forme
and maners of the Rookes capitulo quinto



The rookes whiche ben vycarys and legates of the
kyng ought to be maad a knyght vpon an hors &
a mantel and hood furrid With menceur holding a staf in
his hand / & for as moche as a kyng may not be in al pla
ces of his wyame therefore the auctorite of hym is gyuen
to the rookes. Whiche represente the kyng. & for as moche
as a wyame is grete and large and that rebellyon or
noueltees myght fourde and aryse in one partye or other
therefore ther ben two rookes one on the right syde and
that other on the left syde They ought to haue in hem pyte
Justice humylite. Wyllful pouerte / and clykenalite

first Justice for it is most fayr of the vertues. For hit
happeth ofte tyme that the mynisters by there pryde and
orgueyl subvert Justice and doo no right, Wherefore the
kyngees other whyle lose there wyames wth out there
culpe or gylte / For an vntrewe Juge or offycer ma
keth his lord to be named vniuste and cuple / & contrarie
wyse a trewe mynister of the lawe and rightwys / causeth
the kyng to be reputed Just & trewe. The womayns ther
fore maad good lawes and wold that they shold be Juste
and trewe, and they that establisshid them for to gouerne
the people. Wold in no wyse breke them, but kepe them
for to dye for them. For the auncient and wyse men said
comynly that it was not good to make and ordeyne that
lawe that is not Just. Wherof Valerius rehereth that
there was a man that was named Themistocles whiche
came to the councyllours of athenes and sayd that he
knewe a councyl whiche was right proffyttable for them
But he wold telle hit but to one of them whom that
they wold. And they assigned to hym a wyse man na
med aristocles. And whan he had vnderstonde hym he cam
agayn to the other of the councyl, and sayd that the
councyl of themistocles was wel proffyttable, but hit was
not Just / so that he hit ye may truelue hit in your mynde /
and the councyl that he sayd was this, that there were
comen two grette shippes fro lacedome and were arryued
in there londe, & that hit were good to take them / & whan
the councyl herde hym that sayd, that hit was not Juste
nor right, they left hym al in pces & wold not haue a do
with al. the vicar or iuge of the kyng ought to be so iust

that he shold employe al his entente to saue the comyn we-
le. and yf hit were nere to put his lyf and lose hit ther-
fore. We haue an ensauple of marcus regulus whos
Cullpus reherceth in the booke of offycers. And Saynt
Augustyn also in Ciuitate dei. how he saught agayn them
of cartage by see in shippes and was vanquysshed and
taken. Than hit happend that they of cartage sent hym in
her message to come for to haue theyr personis there. for
them that were taken. and so to chaunge one for another.
And made hym swere and promyse to come ageyn. And
so he came to come, and made propysicion tofore the senate
And demaunded them of cartage of the senatours to be
chaunged as afore is sayd, and than the Senatours de-
maunded hym what counceyl he gaf. wheryn sayd he. I
counceyll poss that ye doo hit not in no wyse. For as
moche as the peple of rome that they of cartage holde in
pryson of youthe / Ben olde men and basid in the warre
as I am my self. But they that ye holde in pryson of
theyr peple is alle the floure of alle theyr folke whiche
counceyl they took. & than his frendes wold haue holden
hym & councilled them to abyde there & not retorne agayn
prysoner in to cartage. but he wold neuer do so. ne abyde
but wold goo agayn & kepe his oth. how wel that he liue
we that he went toward his deeth. for he had leuer dye than
to breke his oth / Valerius reherceth in the vii booke of one
emilie due of the romayns. that in the tyme when he had
assieged the phaliskes. the scole maistres of the children de-
ceyved the children of the gentylmen that he drewe hym a
litil & a litil vnto the citie of the romayns by faye speche

And sayd to the duc emelpe that by the moyan of the
chyldeyn that he had brought to hym. He shold haue the
cote. For theyr fathers were lordes and gouernours /
Whan emelpe had herd hym he said thus to hym / Thou
that art cruel and cruel. And thou that woldest gyue a
gyfte of grette felonye and of mauastye, thou shalt ner
hast not founden here / duc ne peple that resembleth the.
We haue also wel labbers to kepe in batayle and warre! as
in our contrees and othez places / And we wol obserue
and kepe them vnto euery man as they ought to be kept
and we ben armed apenst our enemyes that wol defende
them, and not apenst them that can not saue their lyf
Whan their contree is taken, as thise litil chyldeyn, Thou
hast traynquysshed them as moche as is in the by thy nelle
deceyuable falsnes & by subtilnes & not by armes. But I
that am a womyn shal traynquyssh the by craft & strengthe
of armes / And anon he comaunded to take the sayd
scole maister and to bynde his handes behynde hym as a
traytour and lede hym vnto the parentis of the chyldeyn.
And Whan the fathers and parentes sawe the grette curtyse
sye that he had don to them, They opened the pates and
yelded them vnto hym. We wote that Hanybal had tak-
en a prynce ofrome whych vpon his othe & promyse suf-
fered hym to goo home, & to sende hym hys ransoun. or he
shold come agayn within a certeyn tyme / & Whan he was
at home in his place, he said that he had deceyued hym by a
falsse oth / And Whan the senatours knewe therof / they
constrayned hym to retorne agayn vnto Hanybal /
¶ Since florus tellith that the phisicion of kyng pirrus cam

On a nyght to fabrice his aduersarye/ and promysed hym
yf he wold geue hym for his labour that he wold enjoye
sone pirrus his mayster. When fabricius vnderstood this
he dyd to take hym and bynde hym hand and foot/and
sent hym to his maister & dyd so say to hym word for word
like as the phisicien had said and promysed hym to do, &
When pirrus vnderstood this he was gretly admyrased
of the loyalte and trowth of fabrice his enemye - and said
certeynly that the sonne myght lightelye & sonner be en-
pessid of his cure. thenne fabrice shold be letted to holde
loyalte and trowth. yf they than that were not crysten
were so Juste and trewe and louyd theyr contrey & theyr
good renomee. What shold we now don than that ben
Crysten - and that our lawe is sette al vpon loue and
charite. But now a dayes there is no thyng ellis in the
world but/ barate treson/ deceit falsenes & trecherie me kepe
not their couenauntes/ promyses. othes, Writynge's, ne
trowth, the subgettis rebelle agayn their lord. ther is now
no lawe kepte. nor fydelyte, ne othe holden. The people
murmure and ryse agayn theyr lord and wol not be
subget, they ought to be pietous in herte. Whiche is a
uaylable to alle thyng. There is pyte in effect by com-
passyon / and in woode by remysyon and pardon / By
almesse. for to enclpne hym self vnto the poure. For
pyte is no thyng ellis but a right grette wyll of a wel-
nary herte for to helpe alle men. Valerius rehercheth that
there was a Juge named sangis Whiche dampned a wo-
man that had deseruyd the deth for to haue her heed smyt-
ten of or elles that she shold dye in pryson.

The Japler that had pyte on the Woman put not her anon
to deth but put her in the pryson and this Woman had a
doughter which came for to see and comforte her moder /
But al they or she entrid in to the prison the Japler sez /
chyd her that she shold have no mete ne drynke to her mo-
der . but that she shold dye for longer . than hit suspended
after thys that he meruayled moche why this Woman dy-
ed not and began to espye the cause why she lyved so long
And fonde atte laste how her doughter gaf solike to her
moder. and fedde her with her mylke / When the Japler sawe
thys merueyle he went and tolde the Juge / And when
the Juge sawe this grette pyte of the doughter to the mo-
der he pardoned her and made her to be delucred out of her
pryson / What is that that pite ne amoliffeth / moche peple
bene that it is agaynst nature and wonder that the
doughter shold geue the moder to souke . hit were agaynst
nature but the children shold be kynde to fader and moder
Seneca sayth that the kyng of bees hath no pryke to
stynge wyth as other bees haue / And that nature hath
take hit away from hym by cause he shold haue none ar-
mes to assaile them . and this is an example vnto pryn-
ces that they shold be of the same condycion . Valerius re-
hereth in his fyfthe booke of Marcus martellus that
when he had taken the cite of Syracusane . & was sette in
the hyest place of the cite . he beheld the grette destruccyon
of the peple and of the cite / he wepte & sayd . thou oughtest
to be sorrowful / for so moche as thou holdest haue no pyte
of thy self / But enioye the for thou art fallen in the hande
of a right debonair pryncer / also he recoūteyth when pompey

had conquerd the kynge of germanye that often tymes
had foughten ayenst the romayns, & that he was brought
to fore hym bounden. He was so ppetous that he wol'd not
suffre hym to be longe on his knees tofore hym. But he
receyued hym curtosly. and sette the crowne agayn on
his heed and put hym in thestate that he was tofore.

For he had oppynyon that it was as worshipful and
fittynge to a kyng to pardon, as to punyshe. Also he re-
herceth of a counceyllour that was named poule that vnder
to bryng tofore hym a man that was prisoner. And or
he kneli'd tofore hym he toke hym vp fro the ground and
made hym to sitte besyde hym for to geue hym good cspes;
raunce and hope, and sayd to the other stondynge by. in
thys wyse / yf hit be grette noblesse that we shewe our self
contrarye to our enemyes. than this fete ought to be also.
Wed that we shewe our self wyllynge to our captives and
prisoners. Cesar when he hard the deth of catton whiche
was his aduersarye sayd that he had grette enuye of hys
glorye. and no thyng of his patrymonye; and therfore
he lefte to his chyldren frely al hys patrymonye. Thus
taught Virgyle and enseyneth the glorious prynces to
reule and gouerne the peple of rome. and saynt Austyn
de ciuitate dei sayth thus. Thou emperour gouerne the pe-
ple ppetously / and make pees ouerall / repute and forsette
thy subgettis. reueue and correcte the probbe. For so
enseyne and teche the the lalbes. And hys was wyten
vnto allyaunde. that euery pryncer ought to be ppetous
in punysshynge and redy for to rewarde. ther is no thyng
that causeth a pryncer to be so belouyd of his peple. as when

he spaketh to hem sweetly . and conceyvethe wyth hem sym-
ply . and al this cometh of the wyl of pite .

We rede of the emperour trician that his frendes wrote
vnto hym of that he was to moche prync and familiar
wyth the comyn peple more than an emperour ought to be
And he answered that he wold be such an emperour as
euery man desyred to haue hym, also we rede of alisander
that on a tyme he lade his host forth hastily . & in that
haste he behelde where satte an olde knyght that was fore
acorde, whom he dyd to aryse and sette hym in his owne
sette or siege. What wonder was hit though the knyghtes
desyred to serue such a lord that louyd better theyr helthe
than his dignyte . The wokes ought also to be humble &
meke . after the holy scripture whiche sayth, the greater or
in the hys astate that thou art . so moche more oughtest
thou to be meker and more humble . Valerius reherceth in his
vii booke that ther was an emperour named Publius ce-
sar . that dyd so bete down his holde whiche was in the
myddes of the market place for as moche as hit was hy-
er than other holles . For as moche as he was more
glorious in estate than other . therefore wold he haue a
lasse holde than other , and scipion of affrique that was
so pure of valuntarye pouerte that when he was dede . He
was buryed at the dyspence and costes of the comyn
good . They shold be so humble that they shold leue theyr
offices and suffre other to take hem when her tyme co-
meth . and doo honour to other . For he gouerneth wel the
royame that may gouerne hit when he wyl . Valerius re-
herceth in his iii booke that fabyan the grete had ben maystre

counsellour of his fader his grauntfyr. And of his
grauntfyr's fader and of all his antecessours. And yet
dyd he all his payn and labour that his sone shold neuer
haue that offyce after hym. But for no thyng that he
mystrusted his sone for he was noble and wyse and more
attempered than other. but he wold that the offyce shold
not alwey reste in the famlye and howes of the fabryans.
Also he rehereth in his seuenth booke that they wold ma
ke the sayd fabryan emperour. but he excusyd hym & sayde
that he was blynde and myght not see for age. But
that excusacion myght not helpe hym. Then sayd he to
hem / seke ye and gete you another. For yf ye make me
your emperour. I may not suffre your maners. nor ye may
not suffre myn. There was a kyng of so subtyl engyne
that whan men brought hym the crowne tofore that he to
ke hit. he remembred hym a litil and sayd O thou crowne
that art more noble thenne happe. For yf a kyng knele
wel and parfaytly hold that thou art ful of paynelles of
thought and of charge. yf thou were on the ground /
he wold neuer lyfte nor take the vp. Remembre the that
whan thou art most glorious. then haue some men moste
enuye on the. And whan thou hast most seignourye and
lordshyppe / than shalt thou haue most care. thought and
anguysshes. Vaspasian was so humble that whan Nero
was slayn alle the peple cryed for to haue hym emperour.
And many of his frendes came and prayed hym that
he wold take hit vpon hym. So at the last he was con
streyned to take hit vpon hym. and sayd to hys frendes
hit is better and more to praysse and alowe for a man to

take thempper agaynst his wyll than for to labour . to
have hit and to put hym self therein . Thus ought they to
be humble and meke for to worship the Lord . therefore saith
the byble that Joab the sone of saryne that was captayne
of the Barre of the kyng dauid / When he cam to take and
wynne a cyte . he sente to dauid and desired hym to come
to the warre . that the victorie shold be geuen to Dauid
and not to hym self . also they ought to be ware that
they chaunge not ofte tymes her officers . Josephus re-
hereth that the frendes of Tyberius meruaylled moche
why he helde his officers so longe in theyr offices with-
out chaunchyng . And they demaunded of hym the cause
to whom he answered I wolde chaunge them gladly . yf I
wyst that hit shold be good for the peple . But I sawe on
a tyme a man that was wyneous and ful of sores . and
many fyles satte vpon the sores and soulied his blood
that hit was meruayle to see . Wherefore I smote & chased
them away and he than sayd to me Why chasest & smyttest
thou away these fyles that been ful of my blood . & now
shalt thou lette come other that he hongyre which shal don
to me double payne more than the other dyd . for the prickt
of the hongyre is more pynnaunt the half . thenne of the
fulle . And therefore sayde he I leue the officers in theyr
offices . For they ben al riche and do not so moche euill
& harme as the newbe shold do and were pure yf I shold
sette hem in her places . They ought also to be pacient in
serryng of wordes and in suffryng payne on her bodies . as
to the first one sayd to alisaundre that he was not wor-
thy to reigne . specially when he suffered that lecherie and

depyte to haue seignourye in hym. he suffrid hit patiently.
And answered none other wyse but that he wold correcte
hym self. And take better maners and more honeste, also
hit is rehercid that Iulys Cesar Was callyd Wherof he
had displasir so grete that he kempt hys heires tha: laye
on the after parte of his heed: forward: for to hys the
bare tofore. Than sayd a knyght to hym. Cesar hit is
lightlier and soner to be maad that thou be not callyd /
than that I haue vfid ony cowardyse in the Parte of Ro
me / or here after shal doo ony cowardyse. He suffryng hys
pacienely and sayd not one word. another reprochyd
hym by his signage, and called hym bakier, he answered
that hit is better that noblesse begynne in me. than hit
shold faylle in me / another callyd hym tyrant / he an
swerd yf I Were one thou woldest not say so. A knyght
callyd on a tyme scippon of Affrique folle & olde knyght
in armes. And that he knewe lytyl good. And he an
swerd I Was borne of my moder a lytyl chyld and feble
and not a man of armes. And yet he Was at alle tymes
one of the best and most worthiest in armes that luyd
Another sayd to Vaspasion / & a Wolf shold soner chaunge
his skyn and heer. than thou sholdest chaunge thy lyf.
For the lenger thou lyuest the more thou couertest. and
he answered of thysse wordes we ought to laughe / But we
ought to amende our self / and punyshe the trespasses.
Senekie reheraith that the kyng antygonus herd certeyn
peple speke and say euyl of hym. and there Was set bene
hym nomore but a courtynne / and than he sayd make an
ende of your euyl langage lest the kyng here you. for

the courtynre heereyth you wel ynough. than as touchynge
to the paynes that they ought to suffre patiently/ Valerius
rehereth that a tyrant dyd so torment Anamapymenes
and thretenyd hym for to cutte of his tynge. to Whom he
sayd hit is not in thy power to do so. and forthwith he
bote of his owne tongue; and cheyde hit With his tethe
and caste hit in the dysage of the tyrant. hit is a grette
vertu in a man that he forgete not to be pacient in correc-
cions of wronges. hit is better to leue a gylty man unpun-
nysshed. than to punyssh hym in a Wrath or yre.
Valerius rehereth that archyda of tarente that was mayst-
er to plato saide that his felwes and landes were destroy-
ed and lost by the negligence of his seruant. to Whom
he sayd yf I were not angry With the I wolde take venge-
aunce and tumente the. so there ye may see that he had
leuer to leue to punyssh. than to punyssh meane by yre &
Wrath than by right. And therefore sayth seneque. do not
thyng that thou oughtest to do when thou arte angry
For when thou art angry thou woldest do alle thynges
after thy playse/ and yf thou canst not vanyquyssh thy
yre. than must thy yre ouercome the. After this ought
they to haue Wylful pouerte. lyke as hit was in the aun-
cient prynces. For they coueyted more to be rich in wyte
and good maners thenne in money. And that rehereth
Valerius in his viij booke that Scyppon of affryque was
accused vnto the senate that he shold haue grette tresour.
And he answered certes when I submyssed Affrique in to
your poeste. I helde no thyng to my self that I myght
say this is myn saue onely the summe of affrique. And

the affraquans haue not founden in me ner in my blood
ony auarice . ner that we were so couetouse that we had
ne had greater enye to be rich of name than of riches
And therefore sayth Seneque that the kyng altagone
dyd gladly in his holles vessels of erthe / And some
sayd he dyd hit for couetyse . but he sayd that hit was bet
ter and more noble thyng to shyne in good maners than
in vassel . And whan some men demaunded hym why
for what cause he dyd so . he answered I am now kyng of
Secyll . and was sone of a potter / and for as moche as
I doubt fortune for whan I yssued out of the folde of my
fader and moder . I was sodaynly maad rich . Wherfore I
keholde the natpurer of me and of my lignage / Whiche is
humble and meke . and al these thynges cometh of Wyll
ful pouerte / For he entended more to the comyn proffyt
than to his owen . And of this pouerte speketh Saynt
Augustyn in the booke of the cyte of god that they that
entende to the comyn proffyt . sorowe more that Wyllful
pouerte is lost in Rome . than the riches of Rome / for by
the Wyllful pouerte was the renomee of good maners
kepte entierly . thus by this riches pouerte is not onely
corrupt in these dayes ner the cyte ner the maners . But
also the thoughtes of the men ben corrupt by this couetise
and by felonye that is worse than any other enemye . and
of the crueltie of the peple of Rome speketh the good man
of noble memorye John the monke late cardynal of Rome
in the decretal the fyfte in the chappytre genes sca where he
sayth . that they ben felons ayenst god . contrarie to holy
thynges / trayters one to that other . Enuyous to her

neighbour. proud vnto straungers. vnto and vnto the
vnto their soueraynes not suffring to them that been of
lower degree than they & no thyng shamefast to demaunde
thynges discouenable and not to leue tyl they haue that
they demaunde, and not plesyd but disagreeable vnto they
haue receyued the yeste. they haue thei tongues redy for
to make grete boost, and wyllyng they ben large in promp
syng and smale gyuers / they ben right fals receyours,
and right mordent and bityng detractours. For which
thyng hit is a grete sorow to see the humylite the prync
ence, and the good wysdom that was wont to be in this
kyte of rome which is chiefe of al the world & is prouer
ted and turned in to maleherte & thysse euylles. And mo
thynketh that in other parties of cristente they haue taken
ensaumple of them to do euyl. They may say that this is
after the decretale of seignour and dysobeyssaunce, that
sayth. that such thynges that the soueraynes do. is lightly
and sone taken in ensaumple of thei subgettis. also thysse
dyctayres shold be large and liberall. in so moche that suche
peple as serue them ben duly payd and rewarded of her la
bour. For euery man doth his labour the better & lighte
lyer vnto he seeth that he shal be wel payed and rewarded
And we rede that titus the sone of vaspasian was so large
and so liberal that he gaf & promysed sumwhat to euery
man. and vnto his most pryncyng frendes demaunded of
hym why he promysed more thenne he myght gyue, He
answared for as moche as it aperteyneth not to a pryncce
that any man shold departe sorrowful or tryste fro hym,
Then hit happened on a day that he gaf ney promysed no

thyng to any man / and when it was euen and aduysed
hym self he sayd to his frendes . O ye my frendes this
day haue I lost for this day haue I don no good . and also
the rede of Julius cesar that he neuer sayd in alle hys lyf
to his knyghtes goo on . but alwey he sayd come come .
For I loue alwey to be in your compaigne / And he knewe
wel that it was lasse payne and trouaylle to the knygh-
tes when the prynce is in her compaigne that loueth hym &
comforteth hym . and also the rede of the same Julius cesar
in the booke of trauayles of philosophers / that there was an
auncient knyght of his that was in pryncelle of a man
hangyng tofore the Iuges of Rome so he calyde cesar on
a tyme and sayd to hym tofore al men that he shold be
his aduocate . And cesar replyed and assygned to hym
a right good aduocate . and the knyght sayd to hym . O
cesar I put no dyspayr in my place when thou wert in pri-
son in the batayle of assise / but I faught for the . & than
he shewyd to hym the places of his woundes that he had
receyued in the batayle . and than cam cesar in his proper
persone for to be his aduocate and to plete his cause for
hym . he wold not haue the name of vnkynndenes . But
doubted that men shold say that he were proude . and that
he wold not doo for them that had seruyd hym / they that
can not do so moche as for to be belouyd of her knyghtes .
can not loue the knyghtes . & this suffiseth of the wories.

The iij tractate of the officers of the comyn peple. the first
chapiter is of the officer of the labourers & Berkmens



Or so moche as noble persones can not rellie ne go
f uane without the seruyse and werke of the people
than hit behoueth to wysse the outtrages and the offy-
ces of the Berkmens. than I shal begynne first at the first
palen that is in the playn of the chesse. & signefieth a man
of the comyn peple on fote. for they be al named pictons
that is as moche to say as footmen. And thenne we
shyl begynne at the palen whiche standeth tofore the wode
on the right syde of the kyng. For as moche as this
palen apperteyneth to serue the bycamp or lyeutenant
of the kyng and other officers. vnder hym of necessaries

of bytelle and this maner of peple is figured & ought
he maad in the forme and shappe of a man holdyng in his
right hand a spade or shouel . and a rodd in the left hand
the spade or shouel is for to delue and labour the earth the
rodde . and the rodd is for to dryue and condeyue byth al
the bestys vnto her pasture / also he ought to haue on his
gyrdel a sarge or crokyd harte for to cutte of the superfluous
pyeces of the vynes and trees . And we rede in the bible
that the first labourer that euer was was caym the first
sone of ada that was so euyl that he slewe his brother abel
For as moche as the smoke of his tithes went straye in
to heuen and the smoke and fume of the tythes of caym
went down ward vpon the erthe . and holb hel that thys
cause was trewe . yet was there another cause of enuye
that he had vnto his brother . For when Adam theyr fader
marped them for to mulreple the erthe of his signe . he
wold not marie ner Joyne to gyde the thys that were
borne attones . but gaf vnto caym her that was borne with
abel . and to abel her that was borne with caym . thus
he gan thynure that caym had ayenst abel / For his wyf
was fayer than cayms wyf / and for this cause he slewe
abel with the chekelone of a bestie . And at that tyme
was neuer no maner of yron bloody of mannes blood .
And Abel was the fyrst martir in the olde testament .
and thys sayd caym dyd many other euyl thynges whiche
I leue . for it apperteyneth not to my mater . but it belongeth
for necessyte that some shold labour the erthe after the
synne of adam / for to fore or adam synned / that he brought
forth fruyt without labour of handes but sicke he synned

hit must neuer be laboured with the handes of man: & for
as moche as the erthe is mouer of al thynges: and that
we were first formed: & took our begynnyng of the erthe:
the same wyse at the last: she shal be the ende vnto al
& to al thynges: & god that formed vs of the erthe, hath
ordayned that by the labour of man she shold geue nourys-
shyng vnto al that lyueth: & first the labourer of therch
ought to knowe his god that formed & made heuyn & erthe
of nought: and ought to haue loyalte & trouth in hym self:
and despise deeth for to entende to his labour: and he ought
to geue thankynges to hym, that made hym: & of Whom he
receyuethe al his goodes temporal: Wherof his lyf is sustey-
ned. and also he is bounden to paye the dismes & tythes of
al his thynges: and not as capm dyd: but as a free dyd
of the beste that he chese out al wey for to geue to god and
to plesse hym: for they that graunte and be greued in: that
they render & geue to god the tithes of her goodes: they
ought to be asured and haue drede that they shal falle in
necessyte: And that they myght be despoyled or robbed
by warre or by tempest that myght falle or happen in the
contray: And hit is no manerwyle though hit so happen:
For that man that is disagreeable vnto god: and beneth
that the multiplyeng of his goodes temporal cometh by
the vertu of his owne counceyl and his Witte, the Whiche
is made by the only ordinaunce of hym that made al: and
by the same ordinaunce is sone taken away fro hym that is
disagreeable. & hit is reson that when a man laboureth
by fortune in goodes: & knowith not god by Whō it cometh.
that to hym come some other fortune by the Whiche he may

requyre grace and pardon & to knowe his god & the reue of
 the kyng tyme that was first synple & one of the comyn
 peple that when fortune had enchauncid & sette hym in grete
 estate. he left & forgate his god. & fyl to auoultre & so
 myce & othe synnes. than anone his owne sone absalon
 assailid & began to persecute hym. & than when he sawe that
 fortune was contrarye to hym. he began to take ageyn his
 vertuous werhis and requyred pardon & so returned to god
 agayn. We reue also of the children of ysaac that were
 mygh enfamyned in desert & fore hungry & thursty that they
 prayed & requyred of god for remedye. anone he chaunged
 his wille & sent to hem manna & flessch. & when they were
 replenysshed & fatte of the flessch of bestes & of the manna
 they made a calf of gold & worshipped hit. which was a
 grete synne & iniquyte. for when they were hungry they
 knewe god. & when theyr bellies were filled & fatted. they
 forgio ycolles & were ycolatretes. after this euery labourer
 ought to be faithfull and trewe. that when his maister
 deliuereth to hym his lande to be laboured. that he take no
 thyng to hym self but that he ought to haue & is his. but
 laboure truly and take cure & charge in the name of hys
 mayster and to more diligently hys maysters labours
 than his owne. for the lye of the most grete & noble men
 now god lieth in the handes of the labourers and thus al
 crafter and occupations ben ordeyned not only to suffice to
 the only. but to y comyn. & so it happeth oft tyme that the
 labourer of the erth vseth grete & wistous metis & byn
 geth to his maister more subtil & more dyndeous metes.
 And Valerius rehereth in his first booke that ther was a

Wise and noble maister that Was named anthonius that
Was accusyd of a case of adoultre. & as the cause henge
before the Judges. his accusers or denouncours brought
a labourer that closed his lands for so much as they sayd
than his maister Went to to the adoultre. this same
seruaunt bare the lantern wherof Anthonius Was fore
asshild. & woted that he shold wote agaynst hym. But
the labourer that Was named papition said to his maister
that he shold denye his cause hardily vnto the Judges / for
to be tormentid / his cause shold neuer be enpyred by hym
nor no thyng shold yssue out of his mouth wherof he shold
be noyed or greuyd / & than Was the labourer beten & tor-
mentid & bent in many places of his body. but he sayd ne-
uer thyng wherof his maister Was hurt or noyed / but the
other that accused his maister Were punysshed / & papition
Was deluyerd of his paynes. & also tellith Valerius that
there Was another labourer that Was named penapion /
that seruyd a maister whos name Was themes which Was
of meruailous faith to his maister. for hit befel that cer-
tyn knyghtes cam to his maisters holde for to sle hym &
anone as penapion knele hit. he Went in to his maisters
chambre / & wold not be knowen / for he did on his maisters
gowne & his rynge on his fyngre. & lay in his bedde / and
thus put hym self in paxelle of deth for to respyte hys
maisters lyf. But we see now a dayes many folkes that
digne not to vse grose metis of labourers. and flee the
coarse clothynge and maners of a seruaunt. Euery wise
man a seruaunt that trewly seruyth his maister is free
and not longe. but a fool that is ouer proud is longe.

For the subtiltie and seducen of conyng that is frelon in
conscience by pryde. Enuye. or by couetyse is right sury
that yet they ought not to doubt to labour. for fere and
dred of deeth no man ought to loue to moche his lyf. For
hit is a foul thyng for a man to tennue to the deeth for the
enuye of his lyf / and a wyse man and a stronge man
ought not to fle for his lyf. but to yssue. for there is no
man that lyueth. but he must needs dye. / of this speketh
claudyan and saith that al the thynges that the ope goth
about. & enuyronneth & alle thyng that the wyse labourer
Alle thynges that ben conteyned within the see. al thynges
that the flosse brynge forth. alle thynges that ben notyf-
fied. & al the bestes that ben. Under the heuen shal departe
alle from the world. and al shal goo at his comaundment
as wel thynges pryner and al that the world enuyron-
neth and goeth about. alle shal goo this way. Than he
ought not to doubt for fere of deeth. for as wel shal dye
the ryche as the poure. deeth maketh alle thynges lyse and
putteth al to an ende. and therof made a noble versyfyer
two versis whiche folowe. Forma genus mores. sapiencia
res et honores. Morte uan et subita sola manent merita.
Wherof the englyssh is. beaute. signage maners. wyse dom.
thynges and honours. shal ben defetid by sorow deeth.
no thyng shal abyde but the meritis. & herof fynde we in
Vitas patrum that ther was an erle a rich & noble man
that had a sone onely / And when this sone was of age
to haue knowlledge of the lawe. he herde in a sermone that
deeth spaketh none. & as wel dyeth the yonge as the olde.

And that the wyl ought specially to be woulde for the
causes / one was that no man knoweth whay he cometh /
and the second was in what state he taketh a man . And
the thyrde he wote neuer whether he shal goo / therfore eche
man shold dyspyse and flee the world and lyue wel and
holde hym toward god . and whan this yonge man herde
this thyng / he wente out of his contray and fledde vnto
a wyldernesse vnto an hermytage . and whan his fader had
loste hym he made grette sorowle and dyd to enquire & sette
hym so muche that at the last he was founden in the hermy-
tage . And thenne his fader cam thider to hym and sayd .
Dare thou come from thens / thou shalt be after my wythe
erle and chyef of my lignage . I shal be lost yf thou come
not out from thens / & he than that wylt none other wyse
to eschewe the yre of his fader be thought hym and sayd /
Deer fader there is in your contray and lande a right euill
custume yf hit please you to put that a wyf I shal gladly
come out of this place and goo with you . The fader was
glad and had grette joye / and demaunded of hym what hit
was . and yf he wolde telle hym he promysed hym to take
hit a wyf and hit shold be lefte and sette a parre / Than he
sayd to the fader there were as wel the yonge folke as the
olde in your contray . to that a wyf I praye you / whan his
fader herde that . he sayd there were some that may not be ner no
man may put that a wyf but god onely / than answered
the sone to the fader . than wyl I serue hym and dwelle
here with hym that may do that . And so abode the childe
in the hermytage and lyued there in good weylis after
his hit apperteyneth to a labourer to entere to his labour

and flee paines/and thou oughtest to knowe that anye
propeth moche in the salter the trewe labourers & sayth
thou shalt ete the labour of thy handes and thou art
blessyd and he shal doo to the good. And hit labourth
that the labourer entende to his labour on the weekedays
for to reape and gadre to gyde the fruyt of his labour
and also he ought to reste on the holy day. bothe he & his
bestys and a good labourer ought to nourish and kepe
his bestys. And this is signified by the word that he
hath /Which is for to lede and dryue them to the pasture.
The first pastour that euer was was Abel Which was
Iuste and trewe and offrid to god the bestis into his
sacrefise and hym ought he to folowe in craft and maners
but no man that useth the malice of carym maye ensue &
folowe abel and thus hit apperteyneth to the labourer to
sette and graffe trees and vygnes and also to plante &
cutte them /and so dyd Noe Which was the first that
planted the vygne after the deluge and flood. For as
Iosephus reherceth in the booke of naturall thynges Noe
was he that fonde first the vygne. and he fonde hym by
ter and Wylde and therefore he took four maners of blood
that is to wete the blood of a lyon /the blood of a lamb
the blood of a swyne. and the blood of an ape & medled
them al to geder wyth the erthe. And than he cutte the
vygne and put thys about the rotes therof to thende that
the byttunes shold be put away & that hit shold be swete
And when he had dronke of the fruyt of thys vygne.
hit was so good & myghty that he becam so dronke that
he despoyled hym in such wyse that his pryue members

myght be seen and his yongest sone dany mocked and
shamed hym and when noe was assailed and was sobur
and fastyng. he assembled his sones and shewed to them
the nature of the vygne and of the wyne. & tolde to them
the cause why that he had put the blood of the testes about
the roe of the vygne and that they shold knowe wel that
otherwhile by the strengthe of the wyne men be maad as
hardy as the lyon and prous and otherwhile they be made
symple and shamefast as a lambe & lecherous as a wyne
and curious and ful of play as an ape. for the ape is of
suche nature that when he seeth one doo a thyng he enfor-
ceth hym to do the same. and so don many when they be
dronke. they wyl meddle them with al offycers and ma-
ters that apperteyne no thyng to them and when they be
fastyng & sobre they can scarcely accomplishe theyr owne
thynges. and therefore Valerian reherceth that of auncient
and in olde tyme women dranke no wyne for as moche as
by dronkenshyp they myght falle in ony filthe or vylony
and as ourde saith. that the wyne otherwhile appawylle
the corages in suche manere that they be couenable to al
synnes whiche take a way the series to do wel. they make
the poure. viche as longe as the wyne is in his heed. and
shortly dronkenshyp is the begynnyng of alle euylles. &
corrupteth the body. and destroyeth the soule & mynyshteth
the gooder temporals / & this suffiseth for the labourers

The second chappere of the thyrd tractate treateth of
the forme and maner of the second palme and of the
maner of a smyth capitulo

secundo



The second palme that stondeth tofore the knyght on
the right syde of the kyng hath the forme : figure
of a man as a smyth and that is reson for hit apperces
neth to the knyghtes to haue bridelles saddleis spores and
many other thynges maad by the handes of smythes and
ought to holde an hamer in his right hond and in his left
honde a squer . and he ought to haue on his gyrdel a too
Wel / For by this is signefyed alle maner of Werkmen .
as goldsmythes . marchallis . Smythes of alle forges /

myght be seen and his yongest sone darre mocked and
shamed hym and when noe was ashamed and was sobre
and fasting he assembled his sones and shewed to them
the nature of the vygne and of the wyne & tolde to them
the cause why that he had put the blood of the bestes about
the rote of the vygne and that they shold knowe wel that
otherwhile by the strengthe of the wyne men be made as
hardy as the lyon and yowis and otherwhile they be made
symple and shamefast as a lambe & lecherous as a wyne
and curious and ful of play as an ape for the ape is of
suche nature that when he seeth one doo a thyng he enfor-
ceth hym to do the same and so don many when they be
dronke they wyl meddle them with al offycers and ma-
ters that apperteyne no thyng to them and when they be
fasting & sobre they can scarcely accomplishe theyr owne
thynges and therefore Valerian reherceth that of auncient
and in olde tyme women dranke no wyne for as muche as
by dronkenshyp they myght falle in ony filthe or vylony
and as ourde saith that the wyne otherwhile apparaylle
the courages in suche manere that they be couenable to al
synnes which take a way the hartes to do wel they make
the pure rich as longe as the wyne is in his heed and
shortly dronkenshyp is the begynnyng of alle euylles &
corrupteth the body and destroyeth the soule & mynysseth
the goodes temporels / & this suffiseth for the labourers

The second chappere of the thyrd tractate treateth of
the forme and maner of the second palme and of the
maner of a smyth capitulo seconde



The second palme that stondeth tofore the knyght on
the right syde of the kyng hath the forme & figure
of a man as a smyth and that is reson for hit appercey
neth to the knyghtes to haue bridellis saddleis spores and
many other thynges maad by the handes of smythes and
ought to holde an hamer in his right hond and in his left
honde a squer. and he ought to haue on his girdel a tw
bel / For by this is signefyed alle maner of Werkmen
as goldsmythes. marchallis. Smythes of alle forges/

forgers and makers of money and al maner of mythes
ben signefyed by the martel or hamer. The carpenters
ben signefyed by the dolabre or squyer, and by the troWel
We vnderstonde al masons and fieruers of stones, tylers
and al those that make holdes castels and towres. And
vnto al thysse crafty men, hit aperceyveneth that they be tre
we, Wyse and stronge. And hit is nedde that they haue in
hem self fayth and loyaulte, For vnto the goldsmithes
scheweth golde and syluer and alle other metallys, prey
and steel to other, and vnto the carpentiers and ma
sons ben put to theyr edifyces the bodys and goodes of
the peple, and also men put in the handes of the mawners
body and goodes of the peple, and in the garde and selberte
of them men put body and soule in the parilles of the see.
And therfore ought they to be trewe vnto Whom men com
mytte suche grette charge and so grette thynges vpon her
fayth and truste, and therfore sayth the phylosopher, He
that leseth his fayth and beleue, may lose no grette ne
more thyng, and fayth is a souerayn good, and cometh
of the good Wyll of the herte and of his mynde, and for
no necessity Wyl deceyue no man, and is not corrupt for
no mede. Valerius referaith that fabius had receyued of
hanybal certeyn prysoners that he helde of the romayns
for a certeyn some of money which he promysed to paye
to the sayd hanybal, and Whan he cam vnto the senatours
of rome and desired to haue the money lente for hem,
they answered that they wolde not paye nor lene, and than
fabius sent his sone to rome and made hym to selle hys
heritage and patrymonye, and sent the money that he

receyved therof vnto hapyllal . and hady leue andy loundy
letter to be poure in his contrary of heritage . than of beleue
and fayth . But in thysse dayes it were grete folpe to haue
suche assyaunce in moche peple but yf they had ben prynced
afore / for oftentymes men traiste in them by Whom they
ben deceyved at theyr newe / andy it is to beate that these
crafty men and Werkmen ben soueraynly proffyttable vnto
the World / and Wythout artificers and Werkmen the World
myght not be gouerned . and knowe thou truly that alle
tho thynges that ben engendryd on the erthe and on the
see . ben maad andy formed for to do proffyt vnto the sig
nage of man . For man was formedy for to haue gene
ration . that the men myght helpe and proffyt eche other /
And here in oughte be to folowe nature / For she sheweth
to vs that we shold do comyn proffyt one to another . and
the first fondement of Justyce is that no man shold noy
ne greue other . but that they oughte do the comen & offyce
For men say in reproche . that I see of thyng . I hope it shal
be myn / but Who is he in thysse dayes that entendeth more
to the comyn proffyt than to his owne / certeynly none but
alwey a man oughte to haue drede andy fere of his owne
holles / When he seeth his neyghbours holles a fyre . Andy
therefore ought men gladly helpe the comyn proffyt . for
men otherwhyle sette not by a lityl fyre & myght quench
hit in the begynnynge . that afterward maketh a grete bla
spynge fyre & fortune hath of no thyng so grete plesure as
for to come & werke alwey / & nature is so noble a thyng
that Where as she is she wyl susteyne andy kepe . but this
rebel of nature hath faylled longe tyme . How Wel that

the decree saith that alle the thynges that been ayens the
lawe of nature ought to be taken a way and put a parte.
And he sayth tofore in the viij distinction that the ryght
lawe of nature differenceth ofte tymes fro custom & statu-
tes establisshyd. For by lawe of nature al thyng ought
to be comyn to eury man, and this lawe was of olde ty-
me, and now bene yet specially that the twians kept this
lawe. and we rede that the multitude of the twians was
one herte & one soule. and Temply we fynde that in tyme
passid the philosophres did the same. And also it is to be
supposid that such as haue theyr goodes comune and not
propre is most acceptable to god. For ellis wold not these
religious men as monkes freres chanons obseruaunt
and al othez auowbe hem and kepe the bylful puerse that
they ben professyd to. For in trowth I haue myself ben
conuersant in a religious holls of Wynt freres at gaunc
Whiche haue al thyng in comyn among them. and not
one richer than another in so moche that yf a man gaf to
a frere in d. or iij d. to praye for hym in his masse / as
sone as the masse is don he delueryth hit to his ouerst
or procuratour in Whiche holls ben many vertuous and de-
uout freres / and yf that lyf were not the best & the most
holpest. holy chirche wold neuer suffer hit in religion.
And accordyng thereto we rede in plato Whiche sayth that
the cyte is wel and Justly gouerned and ordeyned in the
Which no man may say by right, by custome ne by ordina-
ce. this is myn. But I say to the certepnly that sythen
this custome came forth to say this is myn. and this is
thyne. no man thought to preferre the comyn prouffyt so

moche as his owne . and al Warkmen ought to be Wyse &
Weldadurged so that they haue none enuye ne none envye
suspicion one to another / For god Wyl that our humayn
nature be couetous of two thynges / that is of religion &
of Wyseedom . but in this cas ben some ofter tymes deuy /
ued . For they take ofter tymes religion & leue Wyseedom
& they take Wyseedom & refuse religion / And none may be
tray and trewe Wyth out other . for it apperteyneth not
to a Wyse man to do any thyng that he may repent hym
of hit . and he ought to do no thyng apenst his Wyll .
But to do al thyng nobly . meurely . firmly & honestly / &
yf he haue enuye vpon any . hit is folye / for he on Whom he
hath enuye is more honest and of more hauour than he
Whiche is so enuyous . For a man may haue none enuye
on another . but by cause he is more fortunat & hath more
grace than hym self / for enuye is a sorowe of corage that
cometh of this ordenaunce of the prouffyt of another man
and knowe thou verily that he that is ful of counte shal
neuer haue enuye of another . but thenuyous man seeth
and thynketh alwey that euery man is more noble . and
more fortunat than hym self / and saith alwey to hym self
that man Wynneth more than I / and myn neyghbours
haue more plenty of bestes / and her thynges multiplie
more than myn . and therefore thou oughtest knowe that
enuye is the most greetest dedely synne that is / For she
tormenteth hym that hath her within hym . Wythout tor /
mentynge or doynge any harme to hym . on Whom he hath
enuye . And an enuyous man hath no vertu in hym self
For he corrupeth hym self for as moche as he hateth

alwey the Welthe and? virtues of other, And thus ought
they to kepe them that they take none euyl suspencion, for
a man naturallye When his affection hath suspencion in any
man that he beneth that he doth. hit semeth to hym very
ly that it is don. And it is an euyl thyng for a man to
haue suspencion on hym self / For We see that dyonyse of
zeceyl a tyrant. Was so suspencion that he had so grete
fere and drede. for as moche as he was hated of alle men,
that he put his frendes out of theyr offyces that they had?
and? put other straungers in their places for to kepe his
body, and? chese such as were right cruel and felons, and?
for fere & doubte of the barbours. he made his daughters
to lerne shawe and? hemle, and? When they were grete, he
wold not they shold vse any gown to be occupped? by them
but to brenne and? senge his hertes / and menaced? them
and durst not truste in them. And in like wyse they had?
none affyaunce in hym. and also he did to enuywonne the
place where he lay wyth grete dykes and browe lyke a cas?
tel, and he entrid? by a drawe bridge whiche closed? after
hym. and his knyghtes laye wythout wyth his gardes
whiche watched and kept straitly thes forteresse, & When
plato sawe thes said dyonyse kynge of zeceyl thus enuy?
woned and sette about wyth gardes and Watchemen for the
cause of his suspencion / sayd? to hym openly tofore alle
men kynge Why hast thou won so moche euyl and? harme,
that the behoueth to be kept wyth so moche pple, & therefore
I say that it aperteyneth not to any man that wyll tru
ly behaue hym self in his werkes to be suspencion, & also
they ought to be stronge and seure in theyr werks? and?

ſpecially they that ben maſters and mariners on the
ſee, for yf they be timorous and fearful they ſhould make
aſerte them that ben in theyr ſhippis / that knowe not the
perilles . and ſo hit myght happen that by that drede and
fere al may ſhould leue theyr labour and ſo they myght be
periffhed and diſpayrd in theyr courages . For a ſhippe is
ſoon periffhed and loſt by a ſtil tempeſt . When the gouer-
nour ſayleth to gouerne his ſhippe for drede , and can
geue no counceyl to other / thenne it is no meruaylle .
though they be aſerte that ben in his gouernaunce . And
therfore ought to be in them ſtrength . force and courage
and ought to conſidere the perylls that myght falle . and
the gouernour ſpecially ought not to doubt . and yf he
happyn that ony perill falle he ought to promyſe to the o-
ther good hoop . and hit aperteyneth wel / that a man of
good and hardy courage be ſette in that office . in ſuche wyſe
that he haue ferme and ſeure mynde ayenſt the perylls
that oft tymes happen in the ſee . and wyth this ought the
mariners haue good and ferme creaunce and beleue in
god . and to be of good comforte and of ſayr langage
vnto them that he gouerneth in ſuche perylls . And thus
ſuffyleth to you as touchyng the labourers .

The third chapter of the third booke treateth of the offices
of notaries advocates seryuants and drapers or cloth
makers capitulo



The third palyn which is sette tofore the alphyn on
the right syde ought to be fygured as a clerke / and
hit is reson that he shold so be for as moche as amonge
the comune peple of Whom the sphe in this booke they plete
the differences contentions and causes otherwhyle the
Whiche behoueth the alphyns to geue sentence and Juge
as Juges and hit is reson that the alphyn or Juge haue
his notarye / by Whom the processe may be drecton. And
this palyn ought to be maad and fygured in this manere

He must be made like a man that holdeth in his right
hand a payr of sheers / or forsettis / and in the lyfte hand
a grette knyfe and on his gurdell a penne & an ynkyhorn .
and on his tere a penne to wryte with / and that beyn the
Instrumentis and the officers that beyn maad and putte
in wrytyng autentique / and ought to haue passyng tofore
the Judges as libelles Writtes condempnacions & sentences
and that is signefied by the scripture and the penne and
on that other parte hit aperteyneth to them to cutte clothe
sheere . dyght and dye / and that is signefied by the for
settis or sheers / and the other ought to shawe berdys and
kembe the heedis / and the other ten coupeys / coupeys / cu
ppers / skynners bouchers / and cordwainers / and these
ten signefied by the knyfe that he holdeth in hys hand . &
some of thysse forsayd crafty men beyn named drapers or
clothmakers for so moche as they werke with wolle . and
the notaries skynners Courours and cordwainers werke
by skynnes and hydes . as perchymyn felume / peltre and
cordewan / and the tayllours cutters of cloth / Beuare
fullars / dyers / and many other craftes occupie and vse
Wolle . and al thysse crafty men & many other that I haue
not named ought to do theyr craft and mestier . Where as
they beyn duly ordeynyd curiously and trewly Also there
ought to be amonge thysse crafty men amiable companyes
and trewe honest countenaunce / And trouth in theyr
wordes / And hit is to bete that the notaries beyn ryght
prouffitable and ought to be good and trewe for the co
myn . And they ought to kepe them from appropriyng to
them self that thyng that aperteyneth to the comyn .

And yf they be good to them self, they ben good to othe
and yf they be euyl for them self, they ben euyl for othe
And the processs that ben maad tofore the Judges ought
to ben writon and passyd by them. And it is to bete that
by their writyng in the processs may come moche prouffit
And also yf they writte otherwyse than they ought to do,
may enseble moche harme and damage to the comyn /
Therefore ought they to take good heed that they chaunge
not ne corumpe in no wise the content of the sentence, for
than ben they first forsworne, and ben bounden to make as
mendis to them that by their trecherye they haue endama-
ged / and also ought they to rede visite & to knowe the sta-
tutes / ordinaunces & the lawes of the citees of the contre
where they dwelle and inhabite, and they ought to consi-
dere yf there be ony thyng therein conteyned ayenst right &
rison, and yf they fynde ony thyng contrarie, they ought
to admoneste & warne them that gouerne, that such thyng-
ges may be chaunged in to better estate, for custume esta-
blished ayenst good maners and ageynst the fayth,
ought not to be holden by ryght. For as hit is sayd in the
decree in the chappitre tofore, all ordinaunce maad ayenst
right ought to be holden for nought. Alas who is now
that aduocate or notarye that hath charge to write and
keepe sentence that putteth his entente to kepe more the co-
myn prouffyt or as moche as his owen. But alle drede of
god is put aback. And they deceiue the simple men /
& drawen them to the courtes disordenatly & constrayne
them to swere and make othes not couenable / and in as-
semblyng the peple thus to gyder they make mo traysons

in the cytees thenne they make good? alpaunces.
And otherwhyle they decyue theyr souerayns. Whan they
may do hit couetly / For. there is no thyng at this day
that so moche groweth come and I take as woth the college
of notaries and aduocates publique / for they ben not of
one accorde. Alas and in Engelond what hurte don the
aduocates men of lawe and attorneyes of court to the co/
myn peple of the wyame as wel in the spiritual lawe as
in the temporalle. how torne they the lawe and statutes
at their plesure. how etc they the peple. how empouere they
the comyn. I suppose that in alle cristendom are not so
many pletars attorneyes and men of the lawe as ben in
englond onely. for yf they were nombred alle that longe
to the courtes of the chaunserye. kynges bench. comyn
place. cheker. wassall. and helle. and the lagge benches of
the same. hit shold amounte to a grete multitude. And
how al thys lyue and of whom. yf hit shold be vntold and
tolde. hit shold not be beleuyd for they entende to theyr syn
guler wele and prouffyt and not to the comyn. how wel
they ought to be of good wyll to gyde. And admoneste
Barne the cytees eche in his right in such wyse that they
myght haue pees and loue one wyth another. Tullyus
saith that frendshyp and good? wyll that one ought to
haue ayenst another for the wele of hym that he loueth.
With the semblable wyll of hym. ought to be put so:th
tofore al other thynges. & ther is no thyng so respyng
and lyke to the bees that maken honey ne so couenable in
prosperite and in aduersite as is loue. For. by loue
gladly the bees holden them to gyde.

and yf any trespas to that othe anon they wenne vpon
the malefactor for to punyshe hym . and verry trewe loue
7 sayleth neuer for wele ne for euyl . and the most swete &
the most comfortyng thyng is for to haue a frend to who
a man may say his secret as wel as to hym self . but verry
truly amytye and frendshyp is somtyme foundyd vpon
some thyng delectable . and this amytye cometh of yongthe
in the which dwelleth a disordynate hete / & othe while amy
tie is founded vpon honeste / and this amytye is vertuous /
of the which tullius saith that there is an amytye vertu
ous by the which a man ought to do to his frende al that
he requyret by reason . for for to do to hym a thyng disho
nest it is ayenst the nature of verry frendshyp & amytye
And thus for frendshyp ne for fauour a man ought
not to do any thyng vnreasonable ayenst the comyn
7 prouffyt ne agaynst his sayth ne agaynst his othe . For
yf alle tho thynges that the frendes desyre and requyre
were accomplisshed and don / hyt shold seme that they
shold be dyshoneste coniurations . And they myght o
the while more greue and hurte than proffyte and ayde .
And herof sayth Seneque that Amytye is of suche wyll
as the frende wyll . And to refuse that ought to be re
fused by reason . And yet he saith more that a man ought
4 to alowe & prays his frend tofore the peple / & to correcte &
to chastyse hym pryncely / for the laboure of amytye is suche .
for a man ought not to demaunde ne to do to be won to hys
frende no vylaynys thyng that ought to be kept secreet
7 And Valerian sayth that it is a foule thyng and an
euyl excusation . yf a man confesse that he hath don any

eupl for his frende agensst right and reason. And sayth
that there was a good man named cassile which had
one his frende requyre of hym a thyng dishoneste which
he wyped & wold not do / & than his frende said to hym in
grette despyte What ned haue I of thy frendship & amper
Whan thou wilt not do that thyng that I requyre of the.
& cassile answered to hym. What ned haue I of the frendship
& of the amper of the. yf I shold do for the thyng dishonest
and thus loue is founded other while. vpon good prouff
table & this loue endureth as longe as he seeth his prouf
fyte. and herof men say a comyn prouerbe in england that
loue lasteth as longe as the money endureth & Whan the
money faileth than there is no loue & Varro refereth in
his somes, that the riche men ben al lound by this loue. for
their frendes ben like as the huske which is about the
grayn. and no man may proue his frende so wel as in ad
uersite. or Whan he is ponce. for the very trelle frende say
leth at no ned / & seneque saith that some folowe the emper
our for riches, & so wen the flies the honey for the sweteness
& the Wolf the carayn. And these compaigne folowe the
praye / and not the man. And Cullius sayth that tar
quyn the proud had a newe of his suster which was
named brutus & and this newe had kynessed tarquyn
out of rome and had sent hym in exyle. And than sayd
he fyrst that he perceyued and knewe his frendes whyche
were trelle and vntrelle. & that he neuer perceyued afore
tyme Whan he was prouffsaunt for to do thet wyll, & sayd
wel that the loue that they had to hym / endured not but
as longe as hit was to them proufftable.

and therefore ought al the rich men of the World take heed
be they knynges prynces or duked to what people they do
prouffyt and how they may and ought be lordy of theyr
peple. For catton sayth in his booke / see to whom thou
geuest. & thys loue which is founded vpon theyr prouffite
which fayleth and endureth not, may better be callid and
sayd marchaundyse than loue / for yf we repute this loue
to our prouffyt onely. & no thyng to the prouffyt of hym
that we loue, it is more marchaundyse than loue / for he
byeth our loue for the prouffyt that he woth to be / And
therefore sayth the versifier thys two verses. *Tempore fe-
lici multi numerantur amici / Cum fortuna perit nullus
amicus erit.* Which is to say in englyssh that as longe
as a man is clyuous and fortunat he hath many frendes
but when fortune turneth and perisseth, there abyeth not
to hym one frende. and of thys loue ben loued the medow,
rees, fel'des, trees & the bestys for the prouffyt that men
take of them, but the loue of the men ought to be charite
very gracious and pure by good fayth / And the very
true frendes ben knowen in pure aduersite. And pierce
alphone sayth in his booke of Moralitye that there was a
philosophre in Arabye that had an onely sone / of whom
he demaunded what frendes he had gotten hym in his lyf
And he answered that he had many / and his fader sayd to
hym. I am an olde man and yet coude I neuer fynde but
one frende in al my lyf, and I trowe verely that it is no
lytyl thyng for to haue a frende / and hit is wel gortter &
more a man to haue many / and hit apperteyneth and beho-
ueth a man to assaye and proue his frende or he haue need

and thenne commaunded the philosopher his sone that he
shold goo and slee a wyne / and put hit in a sacke and
sayne that it was a man dede that he had slayn and bere
hit to his frendes for to burie hit secretly / And whan the
sone had don as his fader commaunded hym and had requy-
red his frendes one after another as afore is sayd /
they denyed hym and answered to hym that he was a by-
layne to requyre and desire of them thyng that was so pe-
rilous . And than he came agayn to his fader and sayd
to hym how he had requyred al his frendes . And that he
had not founden one that wold helpe hym in his neede .
And than his fader sayd to hym that he shold goo and
requyre his frende whiche had but one . and requyre hym
that he shold helpe hym in his neede . and whan he had re-
quyred hym / None he put out al his mayne out of his
holles . and whan they were out of the wyne or a flesshe . he
doyd to make secretly a pytte in the grounde / and whan he
was redy and wold haue buried the body . he founde hit
an hogge or a wyne and not a man / and thus this sone
preuyd this man to be a verray trewe frende of his fader
And preuyd that his frendes were fals frendes of fortune .
And yet reherceth the sayd pierce Alphonse that there
were two marchauntes one of handahe and that other of
Egypt whiche were so ioyned togeder by so grette frend-
shipp that he of handahe cam on a tyme for to se his frende
in Egypt of whom he was receyved right comurably .
And this marchaunt of Egypt had in his holles a fayre
yonge mayden whom he shold haue had in mariage to
hym self . Of the whiche mayde this marchaunt of

bandach was espoused With her loue so ardantly that he
was right seek and that men supposed hym to dye. And
than the other dyd to come the phisiciens which sayd that
in hym was no sickness sauf passyon of loue / Thenne he
wydd of the seek man yf there were any woman in hys
holles that he loued and maad al the women of his holles
to come tofore hym / And than he chere her that shold
haue ben that others wyf and sayd that he was seek for
her. Then his frende sayd to hym. frende comforte your
self / for trewly I gyue her to you to wyf With alle the w/
waite that is gyuen to me wyth her. and had leuer to suf
fer to be wyth out wyf than to lese the body of his frende.
And than he of bandach wedded the mayde. And went
With his wyf and With his riches ageyn in to his contree
And after this anone after hit happend that the mar
chaunt of Egypt beame so poure by euyl fortune. that he
was constrained to seche and begge his breed. by the con
try in so moche that he cam to bandach. and When he entrid
in to the toun hit was dark nyght that he coude not fynde
the holles of his frende. But went and lay thys nyght in
an old temple. And on the morne When he shold yssue
out of the temple / the officers of the toun arested hym
and sayd that he was an homycide and had slayn a man
which lay there de. And anone he confessid hit wyth a
good wyll. and had leuer to ben hangyd. than to dye in
that myserable and pouer lyf that he suffryd. And thus
When he was brought to Jugement. and sentence shold
beue ben gyuen ayenst hym as an homycide. His frende of
bandach cam and saue hym and anone knelle that thys

Was his good frende of egypte . And forthwith stepte
in and sayd that he hym self was culpable of the death of
this man and not that other and enforced hym in alle
maners for to deliuer and excuse that other / And than
Whan that he that had don the feet and had slayne the
man sawe this thyng / he considered in hym self that these
two men were innocent / of thys feet . And doubting the
duyne Jugement . he came tofore the Juge & confessed
al the feet by ordre / And Whan the Juge sawe and herd
al thys mater and also the causes he considered the ferme
and trewe loue that was betwene the two frendes / and
Understood the cause why that one wold save that other
and the trowth of the fayte of the homycide . And than he
pardoned al the feet fully and entierly . And after the
marchaunt of bandach brought hym of egypt with hym in
to his holles / And gaf to hym his sister in mariage and
departed to hym half his goodes . and so both of hem were
rich . and thus were they both very faythful and trewe
frendes . Furthermore notaries . men of lawe & crafty
men shold and ought to loue eche other and also ought to
be conyrent chaste and honeste . For by theyr craftes they
ought so to be by necessitye . For they conuerse and ac-
compane them ofte tyme with women / And therefore hit
apperteyneth to them to be chaste and honeste / And that
they meue not the women nor entyse them to lawlesse and
Iape by any dysfordinate ensignes or tokiens / Titus li-
uius reherceth that the philosopher democreon dyd doo put
out his eyes for as moche as he myght not beholde the wo-
men with out flesshly desyre . And hold wel it is sayd

before that he dyd hit for other certen cause yet was this
one of the pryncipal causes. And Salterian telleth that
there was a yong man of some of right excellent beaulte
And holdeth that he was right chaste. for as moche as
his beaulte meuyd many women to desire hym, in so moche
that he vnderstood that the parentes and fowndes of them
had suspicion in hym, he dyd his bysage to be kutter wyth
a knyfe and lancettus endlong and euerythwart for to de-
forme his bysage. and had leue haue a folke bysage and
disformed. than the beaute of his bysage shold meue o-
ther to synne. And also we rede that there was a Monne
a Virgyne dyd to put out bothe her eyes. For as moche as
the beaute of her eyes meuyd a kynge to loue her, whiche
eyes she sente to the kynge in a present. And also we rede
that plato the right wysse phylosopher lefte his owne lande
and contrie. and chace his mansion and dwelling in acha-
domepe a town, whiche was not onely destroyed but also
was ful of pestelence, so that by the cure and charge and
customaunce of sorow that he there suffrid. myght eschewe
the lettes and occasions of lecherie. And many of his
disciples dyd in lyke wyse. / helemand reherceth that de-
mostenre the philosopher laye ones by a noble woman for
his dysporte, and playeng wyth her, he demaunded of her
what he shold geue to haue to doo wyth her, and she answered
to hym a thousand peng. & he sayd ageyn to her I shold
repente me to bye hit so dere. and when he aduyced hym
that he was so sore chauffyd to speke to her for to accom-
plishe his flesshly desyre. he despoiled hym al naked and
wente and put hym in the myddes of the snowe. And

Ouyde rehercith that thys thyng is the leste that maye
help and most greue the louers / and therfore saynt au-
gustyn rehercith in his booke de ciuitate dei that there was
a right noble romayn named Marcellian that was and
took the noble cite of Siracuse. And tofore as he dyd do
assayle hit or besight hit / or he had do lessede any blood
he wepte and shedde many teeris tofore the cite / and that
was for the cause that he doubted that his peple shold be /
foule and corrupte to moche dishonestly the chastite of the
toun / and ordeyned vpon payn of deth that no man shold
be so hardy to take and defoule any woman by force what
that euer she was. After thys the crafty men ought to
vnderstonde for to be trewe and to haue trowth in her mou-
thes. And that theyr dees folowe their wordes. For he
that sayth one thyng and with another he condempneth
hym self by his word / also they ought to see wel to that
they be of one accorde in good / by entente / by word / and
by deede. so that they be not discordant in no cas. But
that euery man haue pure verite and trowth in hym self.
For god hym self is pure verite / and men say comynly
that trowth sekieth none hemes ne corners / and trowth is
a vertu by the which alle drede and fraude is put away /
Men saye trewly when they saye that they knowe. And
they that knowe not trowth / ought to knowe hit. And
alwey vso trowth / for saynt austyn sayth that they that
wene to knowe trowth / and lyeueth euyl and viciously
it is folye yf he knoweth hit not / and also he sayth in an
other place that it is better to suffre payn for trowth / than
for to haue a benefete by falsnes or by flattery. And man

that is callyd a beste reasonable and not his wylke
after reason and trowthe . is more bestial than any beste
beast . and knowe ye that for to come to the trowthe , hit
cometh of a reasonable foresight in his mynde . And lyeng
cometh of an outrageous and contrarie thought in his
mynde , for he that lyeth wittingly , knoweth wel that hit
is agaynst the trowthe that he thynketh , and herof speaketh
saynt lernard and sayth . that the mouth that lyeth des
troyeth the soule . and yet sayth saynt austyn in another
place . for to say one thyng and do the contrarye , maketh
doctryne suspicious . And knowe ye truly that for to lye
is a right perilous thyng to body and soule / For the lye
that the auncient enemye made eue and Adam to beleue
hym , made hem for to be dampned with alle their lignage
to the death pardurable . and made hem to be cast out of para
dyse terrestre . For he made them to beleue that god had
not forbidden them the fruyt / but onely by cause they shold
not knowe that her mayster knewe / but how wel that the
deuyl sayd these wordes / yet had he double entente to hem
bothe / For they knewe anone as they had tasted of the
fruyt that they were dampned to the death pardurable .
And god knewe hit wel tofore . but they supposyd wel to
haue knowen many other thynges , and to be lyke vnto
his knowleche and science . And therefore saith saynt poule
in a pistyl . hit ne expecteth to saue or knowe more
than beloueth to saue or knowe , but to saue or knowe
by mesure or sobrenes / And Valerian writeth that there
was a good woman of frauncys that wold not lye vnto
to the kynge of Sicille whiche was named dyorise . and

this kyng was so ful of tyrannye and so cruel that alle
the world desired his death and cursid hym. Saus this wo
man onely whiche was so olde that she had seen in or four
kynges reynynge in the contre. and euery mornynge as
sone as she was ryse she prayed to god that he wold
gyue vnto the tyraunt good lye and longe and that she
myght neuer see his death / And when the kyng dyonyse
knewe this he sent for her, and meruaylled moche herof
for he knewe wel that he was sore hated and demaunded
her. What cause meuyd her to praye for hym? she answered
and sayd to hym. sir when I was a mayde we had a right
euyl tyraunt to our kyng of whom we coueyted for the
death and when he was dede there came after hym a worse
of whom we coueyted also the death. and when we were de
lyuerd of hym, thou camest to be our lord which art worst
of al other, and now I doubt yf we haue one after the he
shal be worse than thou art / and therefore I shal praye for
the, and when dyonyse vnderstood that she was so hardy
in sayeng the trowth he durst not to torment her for shame
by cause she was so olde.

The fourth chapter of the third book certifieth of the maner
of the fourth passing of the marchauntis or chaungers in



The fourth pass is sette tofore the kynge .and is
formed in the forme of a man holdyng in his right
hand a balaunce and the weyght in the lyft hand . and to
fore hym a table / and at his gurdell a purse ful of money
redy for to geue to them that requyred hit . and by thys
peple ben signefyed the marchauntes of cloth kynnen and
Wollen . and of al other marchaundyces , and by the table
that is tofore hym is signefyed the chaungers . and they
that lene money / & they that bye and selle by the weyght
ben signefyed by the balaunces / and weyghtes . And the

customers tollars and receyours of rentes & of money
 ben signefied by the purse and knowe ye that alle they
 that ben signefied by this peple ought to flee auarice and
 couetyse and escheue brekyng of the dayes of payment &
 ought to holde and kepe theyr promyses & ought also to
 rendre and restore that that is gyaun to them to kepe / &
 therefore hit is reson that this peple be set tofore the kynge
 for as moche as they signefie the receyours of the tre-
 sours rial that ought alwey to be redy tofore the kyng &
 to answere for hym to the knyghtes and to other persones
 for theyr wages and souldyes & therefore haue I said that
 they ought to flee auarice. For auarice is as moche to
 say as an adourer or as worshipper of fals ymages and
 herof sayth tullius that auarice is a couetise to gete that
 thyng that is aboue necessite and it is a loue disordynate
 to haue ony thyng & it is one of the worst thynges that is
 & specially to prynces & to them that gouerne the thynges
 of the comunete and this vice causeth a man to do euill
 and thes wyng euyl is when hit reygneeth in olde men &
 herof sayth Seneque that all worldly thynges ben mor-
 telled and appetised in olde men reserved auarice onely
 whiche alwey abydweth wyth hym and dyeth wyth hym /
 But I vnderstonde not wel the cause wherof this cometh
 ne wherfore hit may be And hit is a folle thyng and
 contrarie to reson that when a man is at the ende of his
 Journey for to lengthe his viage and to ordyne more vi-
 tyl than hym behoueth & this may wel be likened to the
 auaricious Wolf for the Wolf with neuer good tyl he be
 dede and thus it is sayd in the prouerbes of the Wyse men

that thauacious man with no good tyl that he be dede.
and he wifeth no thyng but to lyue long in thys synne,
for the couetous man cerdynly is not good for any thyng
for he is euyl to hym self & to the rich & to the poore and
fyndeth cause to gaignsay theyr wylle, & he wifeth that he
neque & sayth that antigonus was a couetous pryncer, &
whan tynque which was his frende requyred of hym a be
saunt / he answered to hym that he demaunded more than hys
apperteyned to hym / & than tynque constrained by grete
necessite abyde & requyred of hym a peny / & he answered to
hym that it was no yeste couenable for a kyng. and so he
was alwey redy to fynde a cause nought to geue. For he
myght haue goun to hym a besaunt as a kyng to his
frende and the peny as to a poore man. & ther is no thyng
so lital but that the humanyte of a kyng may geue hys
auarice ful of couetise is a maner of al vices of luxurys
& Josephus wryteth in the booke of alient histories. that
ther was in Rome a right noble lady named paulyne / and
was of the most noble of Rome. right honest for the no
blesse of chastite / Which was maryed in the tyme that
the women glorified them in theyr chastite vnto a
yonge man / fayr noble and rich aboue al other & was
lyke and semblable to his wyf in al casis. And thys
paulyne was belouyd of a knyght namyd enymerancian
and was so ardantly esprised in her loue that he sent to
her many right rich yestes, and made to her many grete
promyses / but he myght neuer torne the herte of her which
was on her syde also colde and harde, as marbyll. But
he had leuer to refuse his yestes and hys promises.

Then to entende to couetyse and to lose her chastyte. & We
rede also in the histories of Rome that there was a noble
lady of Rome whiche lyued a solitarie lyf & was chaste &
honeste. & had gadrid to geder a grette some of golde. and
had hyd hit in the erthe in a pytte wyth in her holles. & When
she was deed. the bysshop dyd so burye her in the chyrche wel
and honestly/ and anone after this golde was founden and
boryn to the bysshop and the bysshop had to caste hit in to the
pytte where she was buried. & thre dayes men herd ha crye
& make grette noyse / & say that she brenned in grette payn
and they herd her ofte tymes thus tormentid in the chir/
che. the neyghbours Went vnto the bysshop & tolde hym
therof. & the bysshop gaf hem leue to open the sepulchre. &
When they had openyd hit. they founde al the golde molten
With fire ful of sulphre. & was poured & put in her mouth
& they herd one say. thou desiredst this gold by couetyse.
take hys and drynke hit. And thenne they took the
body out of the tombe / And hit was cast out in a prey
place. Senecque rehercith in the booke of the cryes of
Women that auarice is foundement of alle vices. And
Valerian rehercith that auarice is a ferdful garde or kepe
of richessis. for he that hath on hym or in his keepynge
moche money or other richessis. is alwey a ferd to lose hit
or to be robbid or to be slayn therfore. & he is not euous
nez happy that by couetise getith hit. & al the euyls of this
Vice of auarice had a man of Rome named septenuille. for
he was a frend of one named tarchus. & this septenuille
brent so sore & so cruelly in this synne of couetise. that he
had no shame to synge of the heade of hys frend by trayson

For as moche as one framofian had promysed to hym as
moche wyght of pure gold as the feed Waged. & he bare
the said feed vpon a staf thurgh the cite of rome and he
bowed the brayn out therof & filled hys ful of feed for to
weye the feywar, this was a right horrible & cruel auarice.
7 Ptolome kyng of egiptiens purfelled auarice in another
manere. for whan anthonie emperour of rome sawe that he
was right rich of gold & filuer he had hym in grete hate &
tormentid hym right cruelly and whan he shold perissh by
cause of his riches. he toke al his hauior & put hys in a
shipp & went with alle in to the hye see to thende for to
drowne & perissh there the shipp and his riches by cause
anthonye his enemye shold not haue hit, & whan he was
there he durst not perissh hit na myght not fynde in hys
herte to departe from hit. but cam & brought hit agayn in
to his towne where he receyved the rewarde of deeth therfore
& with out doubte he was not lord of the riches but the
richesse was lady ouer hym, & therfore hit is said in prouer
he that a man ought to seignorie ouer the riches & not for
to serue hit. & yf thou canst welly vse thy riches than she
is thy chamberer. & yf thou can not departe from hit & vse
hit honestly at thy plesure. knowe verily that she is thy
lady. for the riches neuer satisfieth the couetous. but the
more he hath the more he desireth. & saluste saith that auarice
detrubleth fapth. pefte. honeste & al thise othe good
vertues. And taketh for thise vertues / pryde / cruelte
and to forgete god. and sayth that al thynges be vendable
And after this they ought to be ware that they lene not
to moche ner make so grete creaures by which they may

fallē in pouerte, for saynt ambrose saith vpon thoby. pouerte
hath no shame / for to owe hit is a shame / & to owe and not
paye is a more shame. yf thou be poure be ware how thou lo-
rowest, & thynke how thou mayst paye & rendre agayn yf
thou be riche thou hast no nede to borrowe & aye. & it is said
in the prouerbis that hit is fraude to take that thou wilt
not nez mayst rendre & paye agayn. & also hit is sayd in
reproche When I lene I am thy frende / & When I aye I am
thy enemye. as who saith god at the lencyng & the repay-
ment. & senekie saith in his auctorites that they
that gladly borrowe ought gladly to paye. & ought to fur-
moult in courage to loue hem the better by cause they lene
hem & ayde hem in hir nede. for benefetes & good turnes don
to a man ought to gyue hym thankynge therefore and
muche more ought a man to repaye that is lent hym in
his nede. but now in these dayes many men by lencyng of
their money haue made of their frendes enemyes. & herof
spoketh domas the philosopher & saith that my frende bor-
rowed money of me / & I haue lost my frende & my money /
there was a marchaunt of gene & also a chaungeour whos
name was albert ganor / & this albert was a man of grete
trowth and loyaltie. for on a tyme there was a man cam
to hym and sayd and affermyd that he had deliueryd
in to his bankie v hundred flo:yns of gold to kepe which
was not trowth for he lyed. which v. C. flo:yns the sayd
albert knewe not of. ne coude fynde in al his bookeis any
such money to hym due, & this lyar coude bringe no wy-
nes. but began to braye crye & defame the said albert / &
than this albert calld to hym this marchaunt and sayd

was ferd: take hys 5 hundred florens Which thou after :
mest & sapest that thou hast delucred to me . & forthwith
tolde hym and toke hym to hym . & so this good man had
leuer to lose his good than his good name and renome .
and this othe marchaunt toke these florens that he had
Wrongfully receyved . and employed them in dyuerse mar
chaundys in so moche that he gate and encreased and had
With them 5 thousand florens / and when he sawe that
he appoched toward his deeth . and that he had no children .
he establisshed albert his heyr in al thynges . & sayd that
With the 5 hundred florens that he had receyved of albert
falsely . he had gotten alle that he had in the World . & thus
by deuyne purueaunce he that had be a theef fraudulent . Was
maad after ward a true procurour & atorney of the sayd
albert / But now in thys dayes there be marchaunts that do
marchaundise With other mennys money Which is taken
to hym to kepe . & when they ben requyred to repaye hit .
they haue no shame to denye hit apertly / Wherof hit hapned
that ther was a marchant Which had a good & a grete na
me and renome of keepyng Wel such thynges as was de
lyuerd to hym to kepe . but when he sawe place & tyme . he
receyved hit lyke a theef . so hit befel that a marchant of
Without forth herd the good reporte & fame of this man .
cam to hym & delucred hym grete tresour to kepe / & thys
tresour abode in yere in his keepyng / & after this thre yere
thys marchaunt came and requyred to haue his good de
lyuerd to hym agayn . And thys man knewe Wel that he
had no recorde ne Witnes to preue on hym this duete / nor
he had no obligacion ne Wrytyng of hym therof .

In such wyse that he denyed al entirely and sayd playn-
ly he knewe hym not. and Whan this good man herd and
vnderstood this. he went sorrowfully. and weeping from
hym so fere and longe that an olde woman mette wyth
hym and demaunded of hym the cause of his weeping.
and he sayd to her woman hit apperteyneth no thyng to the
good thyng waye. And she prayed hym that he wold telle her
the cause of his sorowe. For peradventure she myght geue
hym counceyl good and proffitable. and thenne this man
tolde to her by order the cause of his fortune / and the olde
woman that was wyse and subtil demaunded of hym yf
he had in that cite any frende whiche wold be faythful and
trewe to hym / and he sayd y. that he had dyuerse frendes.
Than sayd she good thou to them and saye to them that
they doo ordeyne and bye dyuerse cofers and chestes. And
that they doo fylle them wyth some olde thynges of no va-
lue. & that they sayne & say that they be ful of golde filur
and other Jewels. and of moche grette tresour. & thenne
that they bryng them to this sayd marchaunt. & to say to
hym that he wold kepe the. for as moche as they had grette
trust in hym. & also that they haue herd of his grette trouthe
& good renome. & also they wold go in to see contere / and
shold be longe & they retorned agayn. & Whille they speke
to hym of this matier, thou shalt come vpon them & requyre
hym that he doo deliuer to the. that thou tokest to hym. &
I twowe by cause of the good men that than shal proffite to
hym the sayd tresour. and for the couetise to haue hit. he
shal deliuer to the the good agayn. but be ware late hym
not knowe they be n thy good frendes na of thy knowledche

This was a good and good counceyl of a Woman / and
verily it cometh of nature often tymes to Women to geue
counceyl shortly and vnadvisedly to thynges that be in
doubt or perillous and needeth hasty remedye . and as ye
haue herd . this good man dyd . and did after her coun-
ceyl . and came vpon them when they spake of the matre to
the marchaunt for to deliuer to hym the sayd cofre to
kepe which his frendes had sayned and requyred of hym
that he had taken to hym to kepe / and than anon the sayd
marchaunt sayd to hym I knowe the nobel Wel . for I haue
advised me that thou art suche a man / and comest to me
suche a tyme / and deliuered to me suche a thyng whiche
I haue wel kept . and thenne callyd his clerk . and had
hym go fetche suche a thyng in suche a place and deliuer
hit to that good man / for he deliuerd hit to me / and than
the good man receyvyd his good . and went his waye
right iopously and glad . and this marchaunt trichour &
deceyuour was defrauded from his euyl malice . and he ne
had neyther that one ne that other ony thyng that was
of value . and therefore hit is sayd in prouerbe to defraude
the legalle is no fraude and he that doth wel foloweth our
lord / and seneke sayth that charite enseigneth and teacheth
that men shold paye Wel / for good payement is somtyme
good confessyon . And this marchaunt trichour and de-
ceyuour resemblith and is lyke to an hound that bereth
a chese in his mouth when he swymmeth ouer a Water .
for when he is on the Watre . he seeth the shadowe of the
chese in the Watre / and than he weneth hit be another chese
& for couetyse to haue that . he openeth his mouth to catch

that & than the cheste that he had fullith down in to the wa-
ter . and thus he loseth bothe the & in the same wyse was
seruyd this marchaunt deceyuour / for for to haue the cofres
Whiche he had not seen he deluyrd agayn that he wolde
haue holden wrongfully . and thus by his couetise & proper
malice he was deceyvd . and therefore hit apperayneth
to euery good and wyse man to knowe and consider in
hym self how much he hath receyued of other men . & vpon
What condycion hit was deluyrd to hym / and it is to wete
that this thyng apperayneth to receyuours and to chaun-
geours . and to alle true marchauntis and other . What
that someuer they be / and ought to kepe theyr bookes of
resaytes and of payementes of Whom and to Whom : What
tyme and day / and yf ye demaunde What thyng maketh
them to forgete suche thynges as ben taken to them to kepe
I answer and say that it is grete couetise for to haue tho-
se thynges to them self and neuer to departe from them . and
hit is alle her thought & desire to assemble alle the goodes
that they may gete . for they beleue on none other god .
But on her riches theyr hertes ben so obstynat . and this
suffyseth of the marchauntis .

The fifte chapiter of the thyte booke treateth of physiciens
 aines meicyes spices and apothiquaries capitule 5



The path that is sette tofore the quene signefieth
 the physicien / spicer apothiquare and is formed in the
 fygure of a man / and he is sette in a chayer as a maistee
 and holith in his right hand a booke and an ampe or a
 bove With opnementis in his lyft hand and at his gurdell
 his instrumentis of yron and of siluer for to make Inci-
 sions and to seche boundes and hurtis. and to cutte ap-
 tumes. And by thysse thynges ten knowen the surgyens
 By the booke ten vnderstonen the physiciens and all gra-
 mariens . logycons / maysters of lalbe of geometrys .

arismetrique. musique and of astronomye and by the am-
pole ben signefyed the makers of pygmentaries spices &
apptiquaries / and they that make confecacions and confi-
tes and medecynes maad wth precious spyce / And by
the ffaremens and Instrumentis that hangen on the
gurdal ben signefyed the Surgens and the maysters
and knowe ye forcerteyn that a maystre and physicien
ought to knowe the proportions of letters of gramayre .
the monemens the conclucions and the sophymes of logi-
que / the gracious speche and veteraunce of rethorique .
the mesures of the houres and dayes and of the cours of
astronomye . the nombre of arismetrique. and the ioyous
songes of musique and of al thysse tofore named / the
maysters of rethorique ben the chref maysters in specula-
tyf. and the two last that ben practiciens and workers ben
callyd physiciens and surgens , how wel they ben sage
and curious in thysse sciences and how wel wat manys
lyf is othervhyle put in thordonaunce of the physicien or
surgen yf he haue not sageffe and wysedom in hym self
of dyuerse wrytynges and is not expert / and medlyth
hym in the craft of physique he ought better be callyd a
sleaz of peple than a physicien or surgen . For he may
not be a maystre but yf he be selfe and expert in the craft
of phisike that he slee not moo than he cureth and maketh
hool / and therefore sayth aucenne in an anfortisme yf
thou curest the seek man . And knowest not the cause .
Wherof the maladye ought to be cured . hit ought to be
sayd that thou hast cured hym by fortune and haue more
than by any kunnyng . And in al thysse maner of peple

they ought to be meure of good maners / artifice of Wor-
des / chastite of the body promysse of helthe and as to them
that ben seek contynuel dyffidenc of them & they ought
to enquire the cause of theyr sickenesses and the signes
and tokens of theyr maladies as is referaid in the booke
of the auctours by right grette diligence, and specially in
the booke of yppocras galene and of auyccene, and when
many maysters and phisiciens ben assembled tofore the
patient or seke man. They ought not there to argue and
dispute one agaynst another, but they ought to make
good and symple colacion togeder in suche wyse as they
be not seen in theyr dysputynge one agaynst another, for
to encroche and gete more glory of the world to them self
than to trette the salute and helthe of the patient and seke
man. I marvelle why that when they see and knowe
that when the seke man hath grette neede of helthe, wherefore
than they make grette obieccion of contrariounes for
as moche as the lyf of man is demened and put amonge
them but hit is by cause that he is reputed most sage and
wyse that argueth and byngeth in most subtiltees.
And alle this maner is amonge doctours of lawe that
treateth no thyng of mannes lyf, but of temporel thynges
that he is holden most wyse and best lerned, that by hys
counceyl can best accorde the contentions and dyssencions
of men / and therefore ought the phisiciens and surgyens
leve when they be tofore the seke men al dyssencions and
contrariounes of wordes in suche wyse that hit appere
that they studie more for to cure the seke man than for to
dispute. And therefore is the phisicien duly sette tofore

the quene .so that it is figured that he ought to haue in
hym self chastyte and contynence of body / For hit appar-
teyneth som tyme vnto the phisician to visite and cure
quenes duchesses and countesses and alle other ladies &
see and beholde some secreete sickenessis that falle and come
other While in the secretis of nature . And therefore hit as-
pertyneth to them that they be chaste and folowe honeste
and chastyte / and that they be ensauple to other of good
contynence . For Valerian rehercith that yppocras Was of
meruayllous contynence of his body . For When he Was
in the scoles of athenes . he had by hym a right fayr Wo-
man Whiche Was comyn . and the yonge scolers and the
Joly felawes that Were students promysed to the Woman
a besaunte yf she myght or coude torne the corage of ypp-
ocras for to haue to don Wyth her and she came to hym by
nyght and dyd so moche by her craft that she laye Wyth
hym in his bedde / But she coude neuer do so moche that
she myght corumpe his chaste luyng ne defoule the crosbie
of his consciencce . and When the yonge men knewe that
she had ben Wyth hym al the nyght . & coude not chaunge
his contynence . they began to mocque her and to aske &
demaunde of her the besaunt that they had geuen to her .
And she answered that hit Was holden and gaged vpon
an ymage . for as moche as she myght not chaunge hys
contynence she callyd hym an ymage and in semblable
Wyse rehercith Valerian of Socrates philosopher that
there laye Wyth hym a Woman alle nyght and tempted
hym dysordonatly / but that right chaste man . made ne-
uer semblaunt to her / ne he neuer remeuyd from hys

ferme purposes/ in such wyse as she departed from hym al
confused and shamed / Cornelius scipion that was sent
by the romaynes for to gouerne spayn, as sone as he entrid
in to the castells and in to the townes of that londe. he
began to take a weye al tho thynges that myght steeve or
meue his men to lecherie. Wherfore men sayd that he drof
and chased out of the hoost moo than two thousand four
thousande and he that was wyse knowe wel that delyte of le
cherie corrupted and ampyrd the courages of tho men that
ben abandoned to the same delyte And herof it is sayd
in the fables of the poetes in the first booke of the trauels
of the philosophres by figure, that they that entrid in to
the fonteyne of the Sirenes or mermaydens Were corrup
ted and they took them a weye wyth hem / And also ye
ought to knowe that they ought to entende dyligently to
the cures of the infirmities in cyrurgerye they ought to
make theyr plaisters accordyng to the boundes of soores
yf the bounde be rounde the enplastre must be rounde, and
yf hit be longe hit must be longe And other whyle hit
must be cured by his contrarie, lyke as it apperteyneth to
physique, for the hete is cured by colde, and the colde by hete
and Joye by sorowe and sorowe by Joye and hit hapeth
ofte tymes that moche peple be in grette paylle in takynge
to moche Joye and lese her membris and become half hend
men in the forayn Joye, and ioye is a repleccion of thyng
that is delectable sprad a brode in alle the membris wyth
right grette gladnes, and al men entende and desyre to
haue the sayd right grette Joye naturelly / but they knowe
not what may ensue & come therof and this Joye cometh

other while of vertue of conscience / And the Wise man is
not wyth out this ioye and this Joye is neuer interrupt
ne in default at no tyme . for hit cometh of nature . and
fortune may not take away that nature geueth . & marcial
sayth that Joyes sugetpues abyde not long . but fle away
anone . and Valerian rehercieth that he that hath force and
strengthe reasonable . hath hit of teray matier of cōplectōn
and that cometh of loue / and this Joye hath as moche
powe to departe the soule fro the body . as hath the thondre
Wherof hit happend that there was a Woman named Lina
Whiche had her husband in the Warre in the shippes of
the romayns . and she supposid terayly that he was ded
But hit happend that he came agayn home . and as he en
trid in to his pate / his Wyf mette Wyth hym sodaynly not
warned of his comyng . Whiche was so gladd and Joyous
that in embracyngh hym she fel down ded . Also of ano
ther Woman to Whom was reported by a fals messenger
that her sone was ded . Whiche went soon sorrowfully to
her folow . and after ward when her sone came to her . as soon
as she sawe hym she was so esmoued Wyth Joye that she
deyed before hym . but this is not so grette meruayle of
Women as is of the men . For the Women ben lykened
vnto softe Waxe or softe aper . and therefore she is called
Mullier Whiche is as moche to saye in latyn as mollis aer
and in englysshe softe aper . and hit happeth ofte tymes that
the nature of them that ben softe and mole . taketh some
Inpressyon than the nature of men that be rude & stronge
Valerie rehercieth that a knyght ofrome named instaulo
sus that had nobly cōquered & subdued the yle of corsica

ferme purpoores in such wyse as she departed from hym al
confused and shamed / Cornelius scapion that was sent
by the romayns for to gouerne spayn, as sone as he entrid
in to the castellys and in to the townes of that londe. he
began to take a weye al tho thynges that myght sterc or
meue his men to lecherye. Wherfore men sayd that he drow
and chased out of the hoost moo than two thousand four
thysse and he that was wyse knewe wel that desyre of le
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the fonteyne of the Sirenes or mermaydens were corrup
ted and they took them a wey wyth hem / And also ye
ought to knowe that they ought to entende dyligently to
the cures of the infirmytes in cyrurgerye, they ought to
make theyr plaisters accordyng to the boundes of sores
yf the bounde be rounde the enplastre must be rounde, and
yf hit be longe hit must be longe And other whyle hit
must be cured by his contrarie, lyke as it appertyneth to
physique, for the hete is cured by colde, and the colde by hete
and Joye by sorowe and sorowe by Joye and hit happeth
ofte tymes that moche peple be in grette paylle in takynge
to moche Joye and lese her membris and become half hend
men in the soveryn Joye, and ioye is a replecion of thyng
that is delectable sprad a brode in alle the membris wyth
right grette gladnes, and al men entende and desyre to
haue the sayd right grette Joye naturelly, but they knowe
not what may ensue & come therof and this Joye cometh

otherwhile of vertue of conscience / And the Wise man is
not wyth out this ioye and this Joye is neuer interrupte
ne in defaulte at no tyme . for hit cometh of nature . and
fortune may not take away that nature geueth . a marcial
sayth that Joyes forgetpues abyde not long . but she abyde
anone . and Valerian rehercieth that he that hath force and
strength reasonable . hath hit of teray matier of cōplectōn
and that cometh of loue / and this Joye hath as moche
power to reparte the soule fro the body . as hath the thondre
Wherof hit happend that there was a Roman named Lyna
Whiche had her husband in the warre in the shippes of
the romayns . and she supposid terayly that he was ded
but hit happend that he came agayn home . and as he en
trid in to his gate / his wyf mette wyth hym sodaynly not
warned of his comyng . Whiche was so gladd and joyous
that in embracyng hym she fel down ded . Also of ano
ther Woman to Whom was reported by a fals messenger
that her sone was ded . Whiche went soon sorrowfully to
her holles . and after ward when her sone came to her . as sone
as she sawe hym she was so esmoued wyth Joye that she
died tofore hym . but this is not so great meruayle of
Women as is of the men . For the Women ben lykened
vnto softe wawe or softe aper . and therefore she is callyd
Mullier Whiche is as moche to saye in latyn as mollis ac
and in englyssh softe aper . and hit supbeth ofte tymes that
the nature of them that ben softe and mole . taketh soner
Inpressyon than the nature of men that be rude & swonge
Valerie rehercieth that a knyght ofrome named instaulo
sus that had nobly cōquered & subdued the yle of corsika

and as he sacrificed his goddes he waynyd letters from
the senate of Rome in which were conteyned diverse
supplications / the which when he vnderstood he was so
glad and so enterprised with Joye . that he knewe not
what to do / and than a grete fume or smoke yssued out of
the fire in which he dyspaynd and fyl in to the fyre where
he was anone ded And also it is sayd that phylomenus
halghted so sore & distemperately that he dyed at lalhyng
And we reade that pporas the phisician founde remedye for
this Joye / For when he had long dwellyd out of hys
countrey for to lerne kunnyng and wysdom and shold
retorne vnto his parentis and frendes when he approchyd
nygh them he sent a messenger tofore for to telle to them
his comyng and comaunded hym to saye that he cam / for
they had not longe tofore seen hym / and that they shold
attempte them in that Joye or they shold see hym / And
also we reade that titus the sone of Vaspasian when he had
conquerd Iherusalem and abode in the countrees by / he herd
that his fader Vaspasian was chosen by al the senate for to
gouerne the empyre of rome wherefore he had so right grete
ioye that so depnly he lost the strength of al his membris
and became al Inpotent . And when Iosephus that made
the historie of the romayns agest the Iewes which was
a right wyse phisician sawe and knewe the cause of this se
keness of the sayd titus . he enquired of his folke yf he had
in harte any man greatly so moche that he myght not here
speke of hym ne wel se hym . and one of the seruauntis
of tytus sayd that he had one persone in harte so moche that
ther was no man in his court so hardy that durst name

hym in his presence: & than Josephus assigned a day when
this man shold come & ordeyned a table to be sette in the
sight of titus & did hit to be replenysshed plentifully with al
dayntees & ordeyned men to be armed to kepe hym in such
wise that no man shold hurt hym by the comaundement of
titus & ordeyned bouteillers, cookes / & other officers for to ser
ue hym worshipfully like an emperour. and when al this
was redy Josephus brought in this man that titus saw
& sette hym at the table tofore his eye and was serued of
yong men with grete reuerence right curtoisly. & when ti
tus beheld his enemy sette tofore hym with so grete so
nour. he began to chauffe hym self by grete felonye / and
comaunded his men that this man shold be slayn & when he
saw that none wold obeye hym / but that they al were ser
ued hym reuerently / he was so ardaunt and embraced both
so grete pre. that he that had lost al the force & strengthe
of his body and was al Impotent in alle his members.
recouered the helth agayn and strengthe of his members
by the here that entred in to the waynes and synelbes.
And Josephus was so moued that he was recouered
and hool. And that he held that man no more for his
enemy / But held hym for a veray trewe frende. And
afterward maad hym his loyal fellowe & compayoun.
And the espycers and apothecaries ought to make trewly
such thynges as is comaunded to them by the phisiciens
& they ought to accomplishe their billes & charge curiously
with grete diligence. that for none other cause they shold
be occupied but in making medecynes or confectiōs trewly
& that they ought vpon payl of their soules not to forgette

by negligence ne reckelnes to geue one medecyne for an
other in such wise that they be not sleaze of men. And
that they do put no false thynges in her spices for to en
rayse or encreasyng the weyght for yf they so do they may
better be callyd cheyres than espycers or apothecaries. And
they that ben accustomed to make opnementis they ought
to make it properly of trewe stuffe and of good odoure
after the receptes of the auncient doctours. and after the
forme that the phisiciens and surgiens wyse vnto them
also they ought to be ware that for none cause ne gyfte
that they ought haue / that they put in their medecynes no
thyng venemous ne doyng hurte or scathe to any persone
of Whom they haue no good ne traw knowleche to thende
that they to Whom the medecynes shold be geuen / to do no
to them hurte ne damage / ne in destructions of their neygh
bours / & also that they that haue mynystred the thynges
to them. ben not taken for parteners of the blame and
of the synne of them. The surgyens ought also to be de
bonayr / amiable / and to haue pyte of theyr patients and
also they ought not be hasty to launce & cutte apostumes &
soores. ne open the heeres. ne to arrache bones broken.
but yf the cause be apparant. For they myght elles lose
theyr good renomee. And myght better be callyd iou
chers thenne helars or guarissours of Woundes and so
res. And also hit lehoueth that alle this maner of pe
ple a fore sayd that haue the charge for to make hole
and guarisshe alle maner of maladyes and Infirmytees
that they first haue the cure of them self. and they ought
to purge them self from alle apostumes and alle Wyces

in such wyse that they be net and honeste & enformed in
 al good maners . and that they shewe hym holt and pure &
 redy for to seke other . and how sayth beatus de consolaci
 one in his first booke that the sterres that ben hyde under
 the clowdes may geue no light . And therfore of ony man
 wyl beholde clerely the verite , late hym withdrawe hym
 fro the obscurite and darknes of the clowdes of ignoracion
 for whan the engyne of a man sheweth in ioye or in sorow
 the pence or thought is enuoluped in obscurite and under
 the clowdes .

The sixte chappitre of the thyrd booke treteth of the sixte
 pailon which is lykennyng to tawnyars hostellers and
 tayllers capitulo



The first part Which stondest tofore the alphyne
on the lyfte syde is made in this forme. For hit is
a man that hath the right hand stretched out as for to
calle men / and holdeth in his left hand a boof of breed
and a cuppe of Wyn . and on his gurdal hangyng a bondel
of keyes / and this resemblith the tawerners / hostlers / &
fellars of Vytayl . and thys ought properly to be sette to
fore the alphyne / as tofore a Juge / For there fourdeth oft
tymes amonge hem contencion noyse and stryf . Whiche
behoueth to be determyned & trayted by the alphyne . Whiche
is Juge of the kyng . and hit apperteyneth to them for to
seke and enquire for good Wynes and good Vytayl for to
gryte and selle to the byars . and to them that they berke ;
whe . And hit apperteyneth to them wel to kepe theyr
herberwles and Innes / And alle tho thynges that they
bryng in to theyr lodgyng . and for to putte hit in seus-
re and sauf Warde and keepyng . And the first of them
is signefyed by the lyfte hand in Whiche he bereth breed
and Wyn . And the second is signefyed by the right
hand Whiche is stretchyd out to calle men / and the thyrd
is representyd by the keyes hangyng on the gurdal ; and
thys maner of peple ought to escheue the synne of glo-
tonye / For moche people come in to theyr howses for to
drynke and for to ete for Whiche cause they ought reso-
nably to wille them self and to refrayne them from to
moche mete and drynke . to thende that they myght the
more honestly alpuer thynges needful Into the peple that
come Into them ; & no thyng by outrage that myght noye
the body . For hit happeth oft tymes that there cometh of

glotony. tencions. stryfe. riottes. Whonages & molestacions
by Whiche men lese otherwhyle their handes, theyr eyes and
other of theyr membris / and some ben slayn or hurt
vnto the deeth as it is Writen in Titus patrum. as on a
tyme an hermyte Went for to visite his gossib. & the deyl
appereid to hym on the Wyg in likenes of another her
myte for to tempte hym. & said thou hast left thy hermyt
tage / & goest to visite thy gossib / the reboueth by force to
do one of the iii thynges that I shal say to the. thou shalt
chese whether thou wolt be drunk. or elles haue to do fleshly
lye with thy gossyb. or elles thou shalt slee her husband
Whiche is thy gossib also. & the hermyte that thought for
to chese the lesse euyl chese for to be dronke. and when he
cam vnto them he drank so moche that he was very dronke
and when he was dronke and eschauffyd with the Wyg. he
wold haue a doo with his gossyb / & her husband withstood
hym. & than the hermyte slewe hym. & after that laye by
his gossyb & knewe her fleshly. & thus by this synne of
drunkenness he accomplisshed the two other synnes. By
Whiche thyng ye may vnderstonde and knowe that when
the deyl wyl take one of the castellys of Ihesu Cryst.
that is to Wete the body of a man or of a woman he doth
as a prynce that setteth a siege tofore a castel that he
wold wyne. Whiche entendeth to Wyne the gate. For
he knoweth wel when he hath wonne the gate. he may
sone doo his wyll with the castel / And in lyke wyse
doth the deyl with euery man and woman. For when
he hath wonne the gate. that is to Wete the gate of the
mouth by glotony or by any other synne.

he may to Wyth the offpores of the body al his Wyllie as ye
haue herd tofore, & tharfore ought every man ete & drynke
sobrly in such Wyse as he may lyue, & not lyue to ete glo
tonly & for to drynke downe ye se comunely that a grette
hole is suffisid With right a litil pastur. & that one hode
suffiseth to many olyphauntis & hit beloueth a man to be
fedde by the erthe or by the see / neuertheles it is no grette
thyng to fede the hely, no thyng so grette as is the desyre
of many metes Wherof Cyprian saith / that hit hapeth
ofte tymes in grette festes and dyners, that we be fylled
With the sight of the noble and richorous metis & when we
hold ete we ben faciat and fylled / & tharfore it is sayd in
prouerbe, hit is better to fille the helye than the eye. & lu
can saith that glotony is the moder of al vices & especial
of lecherie / & also is destroyar of al goodes & may not haue
suffysaunce of lytil thyng. A coueteus honger what se
kest thou mete and dytynellis on the lande and in the see,
& thy ioye is no thyng ellis but to haue playntuous dys
shes & wel filled at thy table lerne how men may demene
thems lyf With litil thyng, and cathon saith in no Wyse
obeye to glotonie Which is frende to lecherie / & the holy
doctour saynt augustyn saith, the Wyne eschauffith the hely
that falleth anone to lecherie / the hely and the membris
ben neighbours to lecherie, & thus the vice of glotonie pro
uoketh lecherie. Wherof cometh forgetnes of his mynde
and distuccion of alle quyet and sharpe reason, And is
cause of distemperaunce of his Wyties. What synne is
follew than this synne & more styngyng ne more doma
geous, for this synne hath taken away the vertu of man

his proffesse languysht. his vertue is turned to diffance
the strengthe of body and of courage is turned by the, and
therefore saith Rasilly he graunt, late he take hee how he
serue the hely and the thowt by glotonye like as he were
dome bestes, and he studie for to be lyke vnto felues of
the see, to whom nature hath giuen to be alwey enclined
to ward the earth & that to loke for to serue their helpes &
few sayth / Boecius de consolacione in his fourth booke
that a man that lyueth and with not the condicions of a
man may neuer be in good condicion / than must hit ne-
des be that he be transported in nature of a best: or of a be-
lue of the see, how wel that right grette may and homer
ful of maruayllous sciences and noble counceyl in these
dayes in the world be nourished in this glotonye of Wyne
and mutes / & ofte tymes ben ouer seen. how suppose ye is
hit not right a perilous thyng that a lord or gouernour
of the puple & comyn bele how wel that he be wyse / yf he
eschauffe hym some so that the Wyne or other drynke sur-
prise hym & ouercome his brayn / his wisdom is lost. for
as catton sayth Ite enpesseth the comage in such as he
may not kepe verite and trowth, & anon as he is chauffid
lecherie is meuyd in hym in such wyse that the lecherie
maketh hym to meddle in dyuerse vylayns & doo for than
his wisdom is a slepe and goon. & therefore saith ouer
in his booke de remedio amoris yf thou take many and dy-
uerce Wyne. they apparayle and enforce the comages to be
charye. And Chobye wytnesseth in his booke that luxury
wasteth the body and mynnysheth rychesse. he loseth
the soyle. he febleth the strengthe he blyneth the sight

and maketh the 'dops flore and? masse' ha a right cuple & 7
foule senné of drunkenhpy by the praisith virgynthe
Whiche is sustres of aungellis possedynge al goodnes and
seurte of al Joyes perdurable. Also Was one tyme so 7
chauffyd wyth Wyn that he discouered and? shewid to hye
sones his prauy membris in such wyse as one of his so
nes mocked hym / and? that other coued hem 'and loth
Whiche Was a man right chaste. Was so assotid by moche
drynkynge of Wyn. that on a mounteyn he killede hys
doughters carnelly' and had to doo wyth them as they had
ben his prouys Wyues 'and Certe therwith that Boox
Whiche Was flour of the men, tresour of richesses / singular
house of sapience / myrrour of the World, / vnto of good
renomes 'and glorie of his subgettis. lost al thise thynges
by his luxurie. We haue seen that dyuerce that Were Joy
ned by grete amytie to gedre Whiles they Were sobre. that
that one Wold put his body in parell of wch for that other
and When they Were eschauffid With Wyn and dronke / they
haue vone eche vpon other for to slee hem / and some haue
ben that haue slayn so his fronde / Herodes Antipas had
not don saynt John baptist to ben beheaded, ne had the
dynner ben ful of glotony and dronkship. balthazar kynge
of babilone had not been chased out of his kyngdom ne
be slayn yf he had be sobre emonge hys peple Whom tyus
and carres fond? dronken and? slede hym. The hostellers
ought to be wel respoken and curtyse of wordes to them
that they receyue in to theyr lodgynge. For fayr speche &
Joyous chiere and? debonayr cause men to geue the hoste
ler a good? name. And? therfore hit is sayd in a comyn

prouerbe curtyse langage & wel sayenyn is moche worth
and coste lytel / And in another place it is sayd that
curtysye passeth beastes & also for as moche as many perils
rellys, and aduentures may happen on the wayes & passa
ges to hym that ben herberwed byth in theyr Junes.
therefore they ought to accompanye them when they departe
and enseigne them the wayes and telle to them the per
rilles / to thende that they may surely goo theyr wyage &
Journey. And also they ought to kepe theyr lodges /
theyr goodes. & the good fame & renoume of theyr Junes
We rede that Loth when he had receyved the aungellys
in to his hows right delonayly. Whiche he had suposed had
ben mortal men and straungers to thende that they shold
escape the disordynate and vnnaturall synne of lecherye
of the fornicators. by the vertu of good fayth. he sette a part
the naturall loue of a fader. & proferd to them his daugh
ters. Whiche were wyrgens. to thende that they shold kepe
them and defende them fro that villayn & horrible synne
And knowe ye for certeyn that al the thynges that ben
taken & delucred to kepe to the hoste or hostesse they ought
to be sauf and yeluen ageyn with out appaynyng for the
hoste ought to knowe who that entrich in to his hows for
to be herberwed takith hit for his habitacon for the tyme
he hym self, and alle suche thynges as he bryngeth byth
hym ben comysed of right in the warde and keepynge of
the hoste or hosteler / and ought to be as sauf as they were
put in his owne propre hows. and also suche hostes ought
to holde seruauntes in theyr hows Whiche shold be trewe &
with out auarice, in suche wyse that they conceyte not to

haue the goodes of theyr ghestes / and that they take not
away the prouender fro theyr horses. When hit is gyuen to
them, that by thoccasion thereof their horses perisse not ne
faylle theyr maister When they haue neede / and myght falle
in the handes of theyr enemyes. For than shold the ser-
uauntes be cause of that euyl. Wherfore their maysters
shold see to, for With out doubte this thyng is Worse than
theft. hit happend on a tyme in the parties of lombardy
in the cyte of Jene that a noble man Was lodgyd in an
hostelrye With moche companye. and When they had gyuen
prouendour to theyr horses. in the first our of the nyght
the seruaunt of the holles came secretly tofore the horses
for to stele away theyr prouender. and When he came to the
lodes hors. the hors caught With his teth his arme and
felde hit fast that he myght not scape. and When the theef
sawe that he Was so strongly holden. he began to crye for
the gorte payn that he suffrid and felte / in suche Wyse that
the noble mannyngs meyne cam With the hoste. But in no
maner ne for ought they coude do. they coude not take
the theef out of the horses mouth. Vnto the tyme that the
neighboures Which Were noyed With the noyse came and
sawe hit. and the theef Was knollen and taken & brought
tofore the Juge. and confessyd the feat and by sentence
diffynityf Was hanged and lost his lyf. and in the same
Wyse Was another that dyd so. and the hors smote hym in
the vylage / that the prynter of the hors shoo & nayles alwe
euer in his vylage. another was right cruel & vilagnous
fyl at tholouse. hit happend a poney man and his fauer
Went a pylgrymage to Saynt James in galles and Were

lodged in an hostelrye of an euyl host and ful of right
grett couetyse in so moche that he desired and coueyted the
goodes of the two pylgrymes . and he wth spyed
hym and put a coupe of siluer secretly in the male that
the yonge man bare . and when they departed out of their
lodgynge / he folowed after hym and sayd tofore the peple
of the court that they had stolen and borne away his coupe
and the yonge man excused hym self and his fader . and
sayd they were Innocent of that case / And thenne they
serched hym and the coupe was founden in the male of the
yonge man , and forthwith he was dampned to deth and
hanged as a theef . and thus feare don . al the goodes that
longed to the pylgrym were deliuered to the hoste as con-
fisked / And than the fader went forth for to do his pyl-
gremage . and when he came ageyn he must nedes come &
passe by the place where his sone hynge on the gybet . and
as he came he complayned to god and to saynt James
how they myght suffre this aduenture to come vnto his
sone . and one his sone that hynge spake to his fader & said
how that saynt James had kept hym with out harme
and had his fader goo to the Iuge and shewe to hym the
myracle and how he was Innocent of that fact / and when
this thyng was knowen the sone of the pylgrym was ta-
ken down fro the gybet . and the cause was brought tofore
the Iuge / and the host was accused of the trayson . and
he confessyd his trespass / and sayd he dyd hit for coue-
tyse to haue his goodes . and than the Iuge dampned hym
for to be hanged on the same gybet where as the yonge
pylgrym was hanged . And that I haue sayd of the

seruauntes leynyn men / the same I say of the Women as
chaumberers and tapsters / for sembla ble was fyl in spayn
at saynt donne of a chaumberer . that put a cuppe in lyke
wyse in the scryppe of a pylgryme ; by cause he wolde not
haue a do wyth her in the synne of lecherye / wherfore he was
hanged / and his fader and moder that were there wyth
hym went and vnder her pylgrymage and whan they came
agayn they fonde her sone luyng / and than they went &
tolde the Iuge which Iuge sayd that he wolde not beleue
hit til a cok and an hanne which rested on the fyre was
a lyue and the cok crewe and anone they began to lyepe
a lyue and the cok crewe and began to crewe & to pasture
and whan the iuge sawe this myracle, he went & toke down
the sone and made the chaumberer to be taken and to be
hanged . wherfore I say that the hostes ought to holde no
tapsters ne chaumberers / but yf they were good . meure &
honeste / For many harmes may be falle and come by the
disordenate wyll of seruauntes .



The seventh chapiter of the thyrde tractate treateth of the
 part of tollnes, customes & tolle garners capitulo vii



The garners and kepers of citices ben signefyed by
 the seventh pallyn which stondeth in the left side to
 fore the knyght and is formed in the semblaunce of a
 man holdynge in his left hond grete keyes and in his
 right hand a pette and an elle for to mesure wyth & ought
 to haue on his gurdel a purse open and by the keyes ben
 signefied the kepers of the citices and tollnes and comyn
 offycers and by the pette and elle ben signefied them that
 haue the charge to weye and mete and mesure trewly
 and by the purse ben signefyed them that receyue the

costumes tolls / for wages / wages and duties of the cy-
tees and tollnes / and those people be set by right before
the knyght and hit shoulde that the gardes & officers
of the tollnes be taught and ensighned by the knyghtes
and that they knowe and enquire both the cytees & tollnes
ben gouerned which appertyneth to be kept and defended
by the knyghtes . and first hit appertyneth that the lie /
part of the cyte be diligent / lesy / clew / sayeng and louers
of the comyn prouffyt and wele . as wel in the tyme of
pax as in the tyme of Warre they ought alwey to goo in
the cyte and enquire of al thynges and ought repore to
the gouernours of the cyte such thyng as they fynde and
knowe and such thyng as appertyneth and to the seurte
of the same . and to denounce and telle the defaultes and
faultys that there be . and yf hit be in tyme of Warre they
ought not to open the pates by nyght to no man . And
such men as ben put in this offyce ought to be of vno-
me and fame / trewe / and of good conscience / in such ma-
ner that they loue them of the cyte or tollne . And that
they put to no man any blame or vplanye With out cause
by enuye couetyse ne by hate / but they ought to be sory and
feuy When they see that any man shold be compleyned on
for any cause / For hit happeth ofte tymes that dyuerse
officers accuse the good people fraudulently / to thende that
they myght haue a thankie and ben prayesed and to abyde
style in theyr offyses , and trewly hit is a grete and hye
maner of malice to be in wyll to do euyl and vffame
other wyth out cause to grete glorie to hym self / also the
heraues and officers of cytees ought to be such that they

suffre no wrongs ne bylonges tofor the Juges and go
uernours of ciues without cause to be don to them that
ben Innocentes but they ought to haue their eyes and to
gaze into hym / that knoweth the hertes and thoughtes
of al men / and they ought to drede and doute hym. With
out this grace their Witte and Apperayn is nought. &
that promyseth to them that doute hym that he shal be
and happy and by hym ben al thynges accomplisheth in
good. hit is founden in the histories of Rome that thom
prouer ffroth the second dyd so make a gate of marble
of maruayllous Werk and entree in the cite of caprene
vpon the Water that renneth about the same. And vpon
this gate he made an ymage lyke hym self sitting in his
mageste and the Juges which were sette. one on the
right side and that other on the left side and vpon the
seale about the hede of the Juge on the right side was written
al they entee feurely that they lyue purely. and vpon the
seale of the Juge on the left side was written the entree
the man ought to doute to do thyng that he be put to
pryson fore. and on the seale about the emperour was
written. I make them lyue in mysery that I see lyue dys
mesurably. and therefore hit aperteyneth to a Juge to
shewe to the peple for to drede and doute to do euyl. and
hit aperteyneth to the gardes and officers to doute the
Juges and to do trewly their seruyces and officers. &
hit aperteyneth to a pryncce to menage the traytours and
the malefactours of right greuous paynes. and herof we
fynde in the auncient histories of cyulle that the kyng
darys had a brother whom he louyd fore wel. But al they

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a manuscript page. The text is dense and fills most of the page, with some visible ink bleed-through from the reverse side. The script appears to be a historical form of a European language, possibly Italian or Spanish, given the cursive style and the use of certain characters like 'v' and 'u' which were often interchangeable. The text is organized into a single column, with some lines showing signs of being part of a larger section or chapter, as indicated by the use of large initial letters or specific punctuation marks. The overall appearance is that of an aged, possibly leather-bound, manuscript.

his hand to the table: he had no more regarde vnto his
seruautes / he sayd to hym Why ste ye not - ar ye not bless-
fid? / say ye ye felt any thyng other wyse than blessed and
wel . and he answered for as moche as I see this sharpe
wyse hanging so subtilly & perillously ouer myn heade I
felt wel that I am not blessed / for I drede that hit shold
falle on my heade & thenne dyscouer the kyng vnto hem
at wherfore he was alwey so feyde cheryd & tryste . For
wher he was he thought alwey on the wyse of the sekete
seruaunte of god . Wherfore he beheld alwey in his herte
wherfore he had alwey in hym self grete drede and ther-
fore he worshyppyd gladly the pure peple with glad by-
sage and good conscience And by this sheweth the kyng
wel . that what man that is alwey in drede is not alwey
mery or blessed / And how sayth augustin that this
drede surmounteth alle other makurtes and curles for
it is makurte of drede nyght and day . And it is verite
that to hym that is woberd of moche peple . so muste he
doubte moche / And that lord is lasse thenne his serua-
tes that dredyth his seruautes and truly hit is a right
sure thyng to drede no thyng but god & somtyme right har-
dy man ben cōstrayned to lyue in drede drede causeth a man
to be hys to kepe the thynges that he comyted to hym that
they perissh not / but to be to moche hardy & to moche feyde-
ful . bothe thes ben vices the comyn officers ought to be
wyse & wel aduysed in suche wyse that they take not of the
peple ne requyre no more thā they ought to haue by reson
ne that they take of the sellars ne of the byars no more
thā the right custume . for they bere the name of a prynces

And therefore ought they to haue them comyn to alle
men / and for as moch as the byars and sellars haue som
tyme moch langage . they ought to haue byth them these
vertues . that is to be patiente and good courage byth
honeste / for they that be dyspout to the comyn . they
other while had in bylaines despite . therefore he wote that
thou haue no despite vnto the poore mendicants . if thou
wylt come and atteyne to thynges iouernyn / for the Iniu
rye that is don byth out cause / cometh to diffame hym
that doth hit . a Jogheler on a tyme behelde socrates & sayd
to hym thou hast the eyen of compour of children and
art as a traytor . and when his dysciples here hym . they
wold auenged theyr maister . but he reprevd hym by such
sentence sayeng / suffre my felawes . for I am he and
such one as he sayth . by the sight of my dysage . But I
refrayne and kepe me wel from such thyng . this same so
crates hym self was chide & right foul spoken to of hys
wyf . & she imposid to hym many grete Injuries byth out
nomber . and she was in a place aboue ouer his hed . and
when she had brabbed y enough she made her water & poured
hit on his hed . and he answered to her no thyng agayn
sauf when he had dreyed and wypped his hed . he said he kne
we wel that after such wynde and thownde shold come
rayne and water . And the philosophes blamed hym
that he coude not gouerne the women . that was his wyf
and his chaumberer . and she wold hym that one cokke go
serued wel & better . he answered to them that he was so
wold & acustomed with theyr chiding that the chidingis
of them ne of straungers dyd hym no gref ne harme /

gyue thou place to hym that brabbleth or chideth. And in
suffryng hym thou shalt be his daynquysshour. and cathe
saith. When thou lyuest rightfully / reche the not of the
wordes of euyl peple. and therefore hit is sayd in a comyn
prouerbe. he that wel doth retcheth not who seeth hit. and
hit is not in our power to lette men to speke. and prosper
sayth that to good men lacketh no goodnes / na to euyl
men tencions serues & blames. & pacience is a right no
ble vertu. as a noble wryter saith. that pacience is a right
noble maner to daynquyssh. for he that suffreth ouer
meth / and yf thou wilt daynquyssh and ouercome. letne
to suffre. the peagers ner they that kepe passages ought
not to take other wage ne passage money but such as the
prynce or the lawe haue establisshed / so that they be not
more robours of money than receyuours of wage and
passage. And hit aperteyneth to them to goo out of the
perclous weyes and doubteuous. for to kepe theyr offyce
and they ought to requyre theyr passage of them that
owe to paye hit wyth out noyeng and contencion. and
they ought not to loue the comyn prynces so much. that
they falle in the hurtynge of theyr consience. For that
shold be a maner of robbery. and how saith ysaye / beo
to the that robbest. for thou thy self shalt be robbed. The
gardes or porters of the gates of ciies and of the comyn
good ought to be good and honeste. and al trowth ought
to be in them & they ought not to take ne withowthe the
goodes of the comyn that they haue in keepynge more than
aperteyneth to them for thair pension or fee. so that they
that ben made tresorers & keepers ben not named theues /

For who that taketh more than his he shal neuer thryue
 With al ne shal not enioye hit longe. for of euyl gotten
 good the thirde heyre shal neuer reioyse / & thys suffyseth

This eyght chappytze of the thirde booke treteth of ribauldes
 .players of dyse & of messagers and curours as by



The ribauldes players at dyse & the messagers & cur
 & ours ought to be sette tofore the wolk. for hit appre
 tyneth to the wolk. Whiche is Vicary of the kynge to haue
 men couenable for to renne here & there for tenquyre & es
 ppe the places & ciites that myght be contrarie to the kyng

And this paim that representeth this peple ought to be
formyd in this maner. he must haue the forme of a man
that hath long herys and black and holdeth in his ryght
hand a litil money and in his left hand thre dyse. & aboute
hym a corde in steade of a gurdal. and ought to haue a bope
ful of lettres. & by the first Which is money is vnder-
stonde they that be sole large & wastours of theyr goodes
and by the second Which is the dyse / ben represented the
playes at dyse, ribauldes & butters / & by the thyrd Which
is the bope ful of lettres. ben represented the messagers /
curwours and bears of lettres / & ye shal vnderstonde that
the woker Which is bycayre of the kynge. When he seeth to
fore hym suche peple as ben sole large and wastours. he is
bounden to constitute and ordygne vpon them tutours &
curatours to see that they ete not ne waste in suche maner
their goodes ne their heritages. that pouerte constrainyng
hem not to stele for he that of custume hath had habund-
dauce of money & goeth & dispendeth hit folly & wasteth
hit alwey. When he cometh to pouerte & hath neughe. he must
nedes begge and aye his bredd / or ellis he must be a theef
For suche maner of peple / yf they haue ben delycious they
wyl not labour / for they haue not lernyd hit.
And yf they be noble and comen of gentylmen. they
be a shampyd to are and begge. And thus must they
by force. When they haue wasted theyr owne propre goo-
des yf they wyl lyue they must stele and robbe the goodes
of othe. And ye shalle vnderstonde that sole large
is a ryght euyl vice. For how wel that he doeth good
and prouffyt some tyme to othe.

yet he doth harme and damage to hym that so wasteth.
Cassiodore admonesteth the folke larges to kepe their thynges
that by no necessity they falle in pouerte / and that they
be not constreyned to begge ne to stole of other men. For
he sayth that hit is greater subtilte to kepe wel his owne
goodes than to fynde straunge thynges. & that it is greater
vertue to kepe that is gotten than to geete and wyne
more. & claudyan saith in like wyse in his booke that hys
is a greater thyng & better to kepe that is gotten. than to
geete more, and therefore hit is sayd that the poure demaund
with & beggith or he felith, & also hit is sayd that he that
dispendeth more than he hath. With out stroke he is smyton
to the deth. There was a noble man named John de gana
zath which was right rich. and this man had but two
doughters whom he married to two noble men, and when he
had married them, he loued so wel his sones in lawe theyr
husbondes that in space and succession of tyme, he departed
to them al his goodes temporel / and as longe as he gaf
to them they obeyed hym and were right diligent to please
and serue hym / So hit befel that on a tyme that he had
alle gyven in so moche that he had right nought / Than
hit happend that they to whom he had gyven his goodes.
which were wont to be amiable and obaysaunt to hym
as longe as he gaf, when the tyme came that he was
poure and linele that he had nought, they became vns
kynde / Disagrowable and dysobaysaunt. And when
the fader sawe that he was decayed by his donayre
and loue of his doughters / He dyspayred and coueyted
fore, to eschewe hys pouerte.

After laste he went to a marchaunt that he knewe of olde
tyme . and requyred hym to lene to hym x thousand pound
for to paye and rendre agayn wyth in thre yeres / And
he lende hit hym . and when he had brought hit in to his
house / hit happend that hit was a day of a solempne feste
on which day he gaf to his daughters and her husband
a right noble dynner . & after dynner he entred in to his chail
dre secretly wyth them / and drewe out of a coffre that he
had to make al newe shittynge wyth thre lockes the mo
ney that the marchaunt had lende hym . and putted hit out
vpon a tapite that his daughters & their husbandes myght
see hit / and when he had shewed hit vnto them he put hit
vp ageyn & put hit in to the cheste saynyng that hit had
been al his . & when they were departed he bare the money
home to the marchaunt that he had borrowed hit of . and the
next day after his daughters & their husbandes axed of
hym how much money was in the cheste that was sette
wyth thre lockes . and than he farned & sayd that he had
tham xx v thousand pound . which he kept for to make
his testament and for to leue to his daughters & hem . yf
they wold here hem as wel to hym after ward as they did
when they were married . and than when they herd that
they were right ioyous and glad / & they thought & con
cluded to serue hym honourably as wel in clothyng as in
mete and drynke and of alle other thynges necessarye
to hym vnto his ende . And after this when the ende of
hym began to approche . he calld his daughters and their
husbondes & sayd to hem in this manere ye shalle vnder
stonde that the money that is in the cheste shalle vnder

three lockes I Wyl leue to you / sayng I Wyl that ye geue
in my presence & I dye Whiles I lyue to the four p^{er} /
chours an hondred pounde, and to the four menours an
hondred pounde / and to the parmytes of saynt austyn fifty
pounde to thende that Whan I am buried and put in the
erthe ye may demaunde of them the keyes of the chest where
my tresour is Inne / Which keyes they kept / and I haue
put on eche keye a bylle and writynge in Witnesynge of
the thynges aboue sayd / And also ye shal vnderstonde
that he dyd to be gyuen Whiles he lay in his uth bedde to
eche churche and recluse * and to poue p^{er}ple a certeyn quan
tite of money by the handes of his daughters husbondes
Which they dyd gladly in hope to haue shortly the money
that they supposid in the chest . and Whan hit came to the
last day that he dyed . he Was borne to churche and his eye
quye doon and Was buried solempnly . And the seuenth
day the scruyse Worshypfully accomplisshed . They Went
for to demaunde the keyes of the religious men that they
had kept . Which Were delpyered to them / & than they Went
and opend the coffre where they supposid the money had
ben Inne . and there they fond no thyng but a grete
clubbe . and on the handlyng Was writon ' I John of ca
nazath make this testament * that he be slayn W^{ith} this
clubbe . that leueth his owne prouffyt . and gyueth hit to
other / as who sayth hit is no wysedom for a man to gyue
his good to his chyldren and kepe none for hym self '
And ye shal vnderstonde that hit is a grete folpe to dys
pende and waste his good in hope for to recouer hit of other
be hit of sone of daughter or right nygh kynne / for a man

ought to kepe in his hand in dispendyng his oþne goodes
tofore he see that he dispende other mennys and he ought
not to be holten for a good man that hath litil comode
and spendeth many thynges and I tolde that such per-
sones wolde gladly make noueltees as for to noye and
griue seignories and meue warres and tensions agens
them that haue in richesse and goodes and also make
extorcions clamours and tribulacions ayens their lordes
to thende to waste the goodes of the peple. Lyke as they
haue wasted theyres and suche a wastour of goodes may
neuer be good for the comyn prouffyt and ye shal vnder-
stonde that after these wastours of goodes we saye that
the players of dyse and they that vse bordelles ben worst
of al other for whan thei lete of playeng at the dyse and
the couetise of theyr styngyng lecherie hath brought hem
to pouerte hit foloweth by force that they must be thieues
and robours and also dwinkenshype glotny and alle
maner of euyls folowe them and myscheyf and they
folowe gladly the compaignes of knyghtes and of noble
men whan they goon vnto the warre or battayles. And
they coueyte not so moche the victorie as they do the rob-
berie and they do moche harme as they goo And they
brynge litel gayn or wyngyng wherof hit happend on a
tyme that saynt bernard rode on an hors about the contrey
and mette wyth an hasardour or dyse player. Which sayd
to hym thou goodes man wylt thou playe at dyse with me
thyn hors ayens my folle. to whom saint bernard answered
yf thou wylt oblige thy folle to me ayens my hors / I
wyl a lyght doun and playe wyth the and yf thou haue

no pynntes than I on thre dyse I promyse the thou shalt
haue myn hors, and thenne he Was glad . and anone caste
thre dyse / and on eche dyse Was a fise, Whiche made xviij
pynntes, and anon he took the hors by the brydel / as he
that Was seur that he had Wonne . and sayd that the
hors Was his . and than saynt Bernard sayd abyde my
sone . for there be no pynntes on the dyse than xviij and
than he cast the dyse in such wyse that one of the iij dyse
cleft a fonde in the myddes / and on that one parte Was
viij . and on that other side an aas / and eche of that other
Was a fise . And than saynt Bernard sayd that he had
Wonne his folle for as moche as he had cast on thre dyse
xviij pynntes . and than When this player salbe a ppercy
uppon this myracle . he gaf his folle to saynt Bernard and
became a monke and fynished his lyf in good Werke.
The curours and berars of letters ought hastely and spe
dely do her wyage that is comaunded hem . With out ta
ryeng . for thei taryeng myght noye and greue them
that sende hem forth . or ellis them to Whom they be sent to
And to the hem to right grette damage or bylonge . For
Whiche cause euery nolle man ought wel to take hede to
Whom he deliuer his letters and his maundementis . and
otherwhyles suche peple ben Joghelers and dronkele . and
goon out of their weye for to see abbayes and noble men
for to haue a vantage . and hit happeth ofte tymes that
When suche messagers or curours ben enpessid by omy ta
ryeng . that other curours bere letters contrarie to hys .
and come tofore hym / of Whiche thynges ofte tymes co
meth many thynges discourable of losse of frendes of

castellys . and of lands and many other thynges as by
the feet of marchandyses . and other while hit suppoth
that a prynce for the faulte of suche messengers leseth to
haue victorie . Upon his enemyes . and also there be some
that when they come in a cite where they haue not ben to
fore . they ben more bisy to visite the cyte and the noble
men that dwelle there . than they ben to do theyr voyage
whiche thyng they ought not to do . but yf they had sp
cial charge of them that sent hem forth so to do .
And also when they be sent forth of any lordes or mar
chauntes they ought to be wel ware . that they charge hem
not with ouer moche mete on mornynge ne with to
moche wyne on euerynge . wherby her synelles & waynes
myght be greuyd . that they must for sake of good rewarde
tarpe . but they ought to goe and come hastely for to re
porte to their maysters answers as hit appertyneth . and
thise suffysen of the thynges aboue sayd .

The fourth tractate and the last of the progression and
draughtes of the forsayd playe of the chesse

The first chapiter of the fourth tractate of the chesse booke
in generall it is maad capitulo primo



We haue deuyfed aboue the thynges that apperteyne
vnto the formes of the chesse men and of their offi
ces. that is to witte as wel of noble men as of the comyn
peple / Than hit apperteyneth that we sholden deuyse shortly
how they yssue and goon out of the places where they be
sette. And first we ought to speke of the forme and of
the facion of the cheques after that hit representeth and

Was made after / for hit Was made after the forme of the
cyte of babylone / in the Which this same playe Was fel-
den as hit is sayd afore * and ye shal vnderstande that ye
ought to considere here in foure thynges. The first is Wher-
fore that lxiiij poyntes ben sette in the eschequer Wher-
ben al square / The second is Wherfore the bordure about
is hygher than the squarenes of the poyntes * The thyrde
is Wherfore the comyn peple ben sette tofore the nobles .
The fourth is Wherfore the nobles and the peple ben sette
in theyr propre places / Ther ben as many poyntes in the
eschequer boode as fulle . and ye shal first vnderstande
Wherfore that there ben lxiiij poyntes in the eschequer / for
as the blessed saynt Iherome sayth . the cite of babylone
Was right grette and Was maad al square . and in euery
quarter Was xviij myle by nombre and mesure the Which
nombre four tymes tolde Was lxiiij myles . after the ma-
ner of lombardye they be callyd myles . and in fraunce leu-
kes . and in england they be callyd myles also . And for
to represente the mesure of this cyte / In Which this playe
or game Was founden . the philosopher that fonde hit first
ordayned a tablier contynnyng lxiiij poyntes square . the
Which ben comprised Wyth in the bordur of the tablier /
there ben xxij on that one side and xxij on that othe-
r side Which ben ordayned for the beaulte of the playe . and
for to shalbe the maner and draughting of the chesse as hit
shal appere in the chappitres folowynge . And as to the
second * Wherfore the bordure of the eschequer is hygher
than the table Wyth in . hit is to be vnderstande that the
bordur about representeth the Wall of the cyte Whiche is

right hygh / and therfore made the philosopher the towre
more hygh than the tablicr. and as the blessed Saynt
Iherome sayth vpon the prophesie of ysaye / that is to wete
vpon a mounteyn of obscurete. Whiche wordes were sayd
of babylone whiche standeth in calde / & no thyng of that
babylone that standeth in egypt* for it is so that babilone
whiche standeth in calde was sette in a right grete playn
And had so hygh walles that by the height of them was
continuel darknes enuyronned and obscurete. that none
erthly man myght beholde and see the ende of the highnes
of the walle. and therfore ysaye call'd hit the montaigne
obscure. And saynt Iherome saith that the mesure of the
height of this walle was thre thousand paces. Whiche ex
tendeth vnto the lengthe of thre myle lombardes. hit is
to wete that lombarde myles and englyssh myles ben of
one lengthe / and in one of the corners of thys cite was
made a tour twayne as a shelde. Wherof the height exten
ded vnto the lengthe of vii thousand paces / which is seuen
myle englyssh. and thys tour was called the tour of babel
the walles about the toure made a woman whos name
was sempamis as sayth Virgilius. As to the thyrde
Wherfore the comyn peple benissete tofore the nobles in the
felde of the batayl in one ränge. first for as moche as they
ben necessarie to al nobles / For the rook whiche standeth
on the right side and is bycayr of the kynge what may he
doe yf the labourer were not sette tofore hym & laboured
to mynystre to hym suche temporel thynges as he necessa
rie for hym / And what may the knyght doe yf he ne had
tofore hym the smyth for to forge his armour & sadellys

arpe and spere & suche thynges as appertyneth to hym
And what is a knyght worth without hors and armes /
certeynly no thyng more than one of the peple or lasse
peraventure and in what maner shold the nobles lyue
yf no man made cloth and bought and sold marchandise
And what shold kynges and quenes and the othe lordes
do yf they had no physiciens ne surgeons . Then I say
that the peple ben the glorie of the crowne and susteyne
the lyf of the nobles . And tharfore thou that art a lord
or a noble man or knyght / despyse not the comyn peple
for as moche as they ben sette tofore the in the place .
The second cause is Why the peple ben sette tofore the no-
bles and haue the table boorde tofore them / is be cause they
begynne the bataylle / they ought to take hede and entende
to do theyr offyces and theyr craftes in such wyse that
they suffer the noble men to gouerne the cytees and to
counceylle & make ordinaunces of the peple & of the ba-
taylle . how shold a labourer a plowman or a crafty man
counceyl and make ordinaunce of suche thynges as he
neuer lerned . and Wote he knoweth the mater .
What thyng the counceyl ought to be taken / Certes the
comyn peple ought not to entende to none othe thyng but
for to do their seruyce and the offyce which is couenable
unto hem / and hit appertyneth not to hem to be of coun-
ceyls ne at the aduocacions ne to menace ne to threte no
man . for ofte tymes by menaces and by force good coun-
ceyl is disturbled and where good counceyl fayleth .
there ofte tymes the cytees ben betrayed and destroyed .
And plato sayeth that the comyn thynges and the cytees

ben blessed than they ben gouerned by wyse men / or than
the gouernours studie in wysedom. and so hit apperteyneth
to the comyn to lerne to better the maters. and the maner
of prouision tofore they be counceyllours. / For hit hap
pen often tymes that he that makyth hym wyser than he
vnderstandeth is made more fool than he is. and the
cause wherfore that there ben in y tabler as many wynter
boyde as ben fulle / hit is to bete for that they what euer
they be that haue peple to gouerne / ought tenfore to haue
cities & castelles & possessyons for to sette his peple therein
and for to labour and do their ocupacion. For for to haue
the name of a kyng wythout a wyame is a name boyde.
and honour wyth out prouffyt / and al noblesse wyth out
good maners / and wyth out suche thynges as noblesse
may be maynteyned / ought better be calld folge than no
blesse / and shameful puerce is the more greeuous than
hit cometh by nature of an hygh and noble byrth or houe
For no man gladly wyl reueue a pure man of the co
myn peple. but euery man hath in despyte a noble man
that is pure. yf he haue not in hym good maners and
vertuous. by whiche his puerce is forgotten. And truly
a wyame wyth out habundaunce of goodes by whiche hit
may be gouerned and prosper. may better be calld a la
troynye or a nest of theues than a wyame. Alas what
habundaunce was somme tymes in the wyames. & what
prosperite in whiche was Justyce. and euery man in his
offyce content. how stood the cyties that tyme in worship
& renome. how was renomed the noble wyame of england
alle the world dradde hit and spake worship of hit. How

hit now standeth and in what habundaunce I re-
pore me to them that knowe hit . yf there ben theys wth in the
wyame or on the see . they knowe that labour in the wy-
ame and sayle on the see / I wote wel the same is gone
therof / I praye god saue that noble wyame . & sende good
trewe and polletique counceyllours to the gouernours of
the same . and noblesse of lignage wth out pynsaunce
myght is but vayne and dyspyte . And hit is so as we
haue sayd tofore that the schequer which the philosophes
ordyned represented and figured the said cite of Baby-
lone . and in like wyse may hit figure a wyame and sig-
nifye alle the World . and yf men regard and take heed
vnto the pyntes vnto the myddes of euery quadrant . &
so to double euery quadrant to other the myles of this cite
alwey doublynge vnto the nombre of leyn . The nombre
of the same shold surmounte all the World . and not onely
the World but many Worldes by the doublynge of myles .
Which doublynge so as afore is sayd shold surmounte all
thynges . & thus endeth the first chapytre of the iij booke .

The second chappiter of the fourth tractate treateth of the
draught of the kyng & how he meureth in the chequer on ij



¶ E ought to knowe that in thys world the kynges
B seynourie and regne eche in his royaume. And
in this play we ought to knowe by the nature of hit how
the kyng meureth hym and yssueth out of his place / for
ye shal vnderstande that he is sette in the iij quadrante or
poynt of the cheques, and when he is black, he standeth in
the whyt, and the knyght on his right side in whyt / & the
alphen and the rook in black / and on the left side the iij
golden the places opposite / and the wasyon may be such

For by cause that the knyghtes beyn the glorie, and the
croune of the kyng they ensue in semblable maner that
they do what they be sette semblably on the right side of the
kyng & on the left side of the quene & for as moche as the
work on the right side is Vicary of the kyng he accompanieth
the quene in semblable siege that the alphys doth which
he is Juge of the kyng And in like wyse the left work &
the left alphys accompanie the kyng in semblable siege.
In such wyse as they beyn sette about the kyng in both sides
with the quene in maner of a croune that they may
seurely kepe the royaume that relieth and shyneth in the
kyng & in the quene. in such wyse as they may conferme
& diffende hym in their sieges & in their places. and the
more hastely renne vpon his enemyes & for as moche as
the Juge the knyght and the Vicary kepe & garnyshe the
kyng on that one side they that beyn sette on the other side
kepe the quene & thus kepe they al the strength & fermeite
of the royaume & semblably other while for to ordaine the
thynges that apperteyne to the counceyl & to the besorging
of the royaume / for yf eche man shold entende to his owne
proper thynges. And that they defendyd not nez toke
hede vnto the thynges that apperteyn to the kyng & to
the comyn, and to the royaume. the royaume shold anon
be decayed in parties. And thus myght the Juge
reigne. And the name of the dygnite shall shold
be loste. And trewly for as moche as the kyng foloweth
the dygnite aboue alle othyr and the seignorie royaume.
therefore hit apperteyneth not that he absence hym long
ne withdrawe hym ferre by space of tyme from the maieste

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siege of his wyame / for Whan he Wyl meue hym. he ought
not to passe at the first draught the nombre of in poyntes
e Whan he begynneth thus to meue from his Wht poynt.
he hath the nature of the wokes of the right side e of the
left for to goo black or Wht. e also he may goo vnto the
Wht poynt Where the gardes of the cyte ben sette / in this
poynt he hath the nature of a knyght. e thise two maners
of meuyng aperteyneth otherwhyle to the quene. e for as
muche as the kyng e the quene that he conioyned to gedre
by mariage ben one thyng as one fleshe e blood / therefore
may the kyng meue on the left side of his propre poynt al
so wel as he Were sette in the place of the quene Whiche is
black. e Whan he goeth right in maner of the wolk onely e
hit happen that the aduersary be not couerd in any poynt in
the second ligne / the kyng may not passe from his black
poynt vnto the thyrde ligne / e thus he fortifeth the nature
of the wolk on the right side and left side vnto the place of
the knyghtes. And for to goo right tofore in to the Wht
poynt tofore the marchaunt and the kyng also fortifye the
nature of the knyghtes Whan he goeth on the right side in
two maners. for he may put hym in the voyde space tofore
the phisician / e in the black space tofore the tauerna. e on
the other side he goeth in to other two places in like wyse
that is tofore the smyth / and the notarye / e thus as in
goynge out first in to four poyntes he fortifye the nature
of knyghtes. And also the kyng fortifyeth the nature
of the alphyne at hys first yssue in to two places. and
he may goo on bothe sydes vnto the Whte place voyde /
that one tofore the smyth on that one side / and that other

tofore the tauerne on that other side, al these yssues hath
the kyng out of his proper place of his owne vertu. Whan
he begynneth to meue. but Whan he is ones meuyd fro his
proper place. he may not meue but in to one space or poynt
and so from one to another. And than he sortifeth the na
ture of the comyn peple. And thus by good right he hath
in hym self the nature of al. For al the vertues that is
in the membris comyth of the heed. And al meuyng of
the body. The begynnyng and lpf cometh from the herte.
And al the dygnite that the subgittis haue by excecution
and continuel apparence of theyr meuyng and yssue.
the kyng deteyneth hit and is attributed to hym. the Vic
torie of the knyghtes. the pudence of the Judges. the
auctorite of the byshoppes or legates. the contynence of the
quene. the concord and vnyte of the people, so ben alle
thise thynges ascribed vnto the honour & worship of the
kyng. in his yssue. Whā he meuyth first. the in signe tofore
the peple he neuer excedyth. for in the third nombre alle
maner of states begynne to meue. For the trynary nom
bre conteyneth thre parties. Whiche make a perfect nom
bre. For a trynary nombre hath i ii iii. Whiche ioyned
to gyder maketh vi. Which is the first perfite nombre. and
signefieth in this place. vi persones named that constituta
te the perfeccion of a royaume. that is to wete the kyng the
quene. Judges knyghtes vicars or legates. & the comyn
peple. & therefore the kyng ought to begynne in his first me
uyng of in poyntes. that he shalbe perfeccion of lpf as wel
in hym self as in other. after the kyng begynneth to meue
he may lede with hym the quene. after y maner of his issue
k in

For Why the queene foloweth vnto the angular places
after the maner of the alpher/ and to a place Indicate
in the maner of a rook in to the blacke point tofore the
phificien/ Herin is signefied that the Women may not me-
ue nether make bolles of pylgrimage ner of Viage With-
out the Wille of theyr husbandes. For yf a Woman had
auolled any thynge. her husband lyuynge/ and agayn say-
enng. she may not yelde ner accomplishe her bolle. yf the
husband Wyl goo any where/ he may wel goo wythout her
And yf so be that the husband Wyl haue her wyth hym/ she
is bounden to folowe hym. And by reason. for a man is
the head of a Woman. & not eonuerso. For as to suche
thynges as longe to patrymonye. they ben like/ but the
man hath power ouer her body/ and so hath not the Woman
ouer his/ and therefore When the kynge begynneth to meue
the queene may folowe. and not alwey When he meuyth
it is no nede the kynge to meue. for Why four the first lig-
nes be wyth in the lymytes and space of the roame/
and vnto the thyrde point the kynge may meue at his
first meuyng out of his propre place. and When he passyth
the fourth ligne he goeth out of his roame/ And yf he
passe one point lette hym be waar. For the persone of a
kynge is accounted more than a thousand of other. For
When he exposith hym vnto the perille of bataylle. hit is
necessary that he goo attemptatly and skilpy/ for yf he be
taken or ded or ellys Includid and shet op. alle the
strangthes of al other faylle and al is fynisshed and lost
And therefore he hath nede to goo and meue Wylly. and
also therefore he may not meue but one point after hym

first meuyng But Where that euer he goo forthward or the
ward or on that one side or on that other or ellis corner/
Wyse + he may neuer approche his aduersarye the kyng nei/
er than in the thyrde wynt / And therfore the knyghtes in
bataylle ought neuer to approche one nygh that other And
also When the kyng hath goon so fere that al hys men
be lost / Than he is sole, and than he may not endure long
When he is brough: to that extremyte / and also he ought
to take heed that he stonde not so that a knyght or another
sayth chek rook. than the kyng loseth the rook / That
kyng is not wel fortunat that lefith hym to Whom his
auctorite delegate a perteyneth / Who may do the nedes of the
royame yf he be pryvyd taken or w:dy that Was prynces
of al the royame, he shal bere a sacke on his heed that
is sette in a cite, And al they that Were therin he is ta/
ken in captiuyte and sette vp.

The second chapter of the fourth booke of the quene
 & how she issueth out of her place capitulo tercio



Then the quene Whiche is accompanied vnto the
 the kyng begynneth to meue from her proper place / she
 goeth in double manere / that is to wete as an alphyng
 When she is blacke, she may goo on the right side & come
 in to the poynt tofore the notarye, & on the left side in the
 blacke poynt and come tofore the gardes of the cete, and
 hit is to wete that she sortifeth in her self the nature in
 manere first on the right side tofore the alphyng, secondly
 on the left side where the knyght is, & thirdly Inuocably
 vnto the blacke poynt tofore the physician. And the reason

Why / is for as moche as she hath in her self by grace the
auctorite that the woken haue by compsaion . for she may
gyue and graunte many thynges to her subgettis grac-
iously / and thus also ought she to haue perfyte wysdom
as the alphys haue Which ben Judges . as hit is sayd
aboue in the chappiter of the quene . and she hath not the
nature of knyghtes . and hit is not sitting ne couenable
thyng for a Woman to goo to bataylle for the fragylite &
feblenes of her . and therefore holdeth she not the Waye in
her draught as the knyghtes doon . & When she is mynd-
ons out of her place she may not goo but fro one wynte
to another . and yet couertly Whether hit be forwards or bac-
ward takynge or to be taken . and here may be sayd Why
the quene goeth to the bataylle Wyth the kynge . certeynly
it is for the solace of hym . and ostencion of loue . And
also the peple desire to haue successyon of the kynge . and
therefore the tartaris haue their wyues in to the felde Wyth
hem yet hit is not good that men haue theire wyues Wyth
hem / but that they abyde in the cyties or Wythin theire
owne termys . For When they com out of theire cyties &
lymytes they ben not sure but holden suspecte they shold
be shamefast and holde al men suspect . For dyna Jacobs
daughter as longe as she was in the howse of her brethern
she kept her vyrgynyte . but assone as she wente for to see
the straunge regions / and one she was corrupt & dobled
of the sone of Achem . Seneca sayth that the Women that
haue euyl vsages ben gladly not chaste / but theire corage
despreth gladly the compaignie of men / and solinus sayth
that no bestes femelles desire to be touchyd of theire males

When they haue conceyved / except Woman Which ought to
 be a best reasonnable . and in this case she lefith her myson /
 & fiducie Witnessteth the same . & therefore in the olde Lawe .
 the fathers had dyuerse Wyues and ancellis to thende When
 one Was With childe . they myght take another . they ought
 to haue the visage enclyned for to eschewe the sight of the
 men . that by the sight they be not meuyd With Inconty-
 nence & dyffame of other . and our sayth that there ben
 some that be wel that they eschewe the dea . yet haue
 they grete ioye When they be prayed / & therefore ought the
 good Women fle the curiositees & places Where they myght
 falle in shame & noyse of the peple .

The fourth chappytte of the fourth booke of the issuing
 of the aldyn capitulo quarto



The manere and nature of the draught of the al-
phyn is such that he that is black in his propre sie-
ge is sette on the right side of the kynge / and he that is
Whye is sette on the left side / and ben callyd and named
black and Whye but for no cause that they be so in sub-
staunce of her propre colour: but for the colour of the pla-
ces in Whiche they ben sette / and al they be they black or
Whye Whan they ben sette in theyr places the alphyn on
the right side goynge out of his place to the right syde
ward cometh tofore the labourer / and hit is reason that
the Juge ought to defende and keep the labourers and pos-
sessions Whiche ben in his Jurisdiction by al right and
lawe / And also he may goo on the left side to the voyde
place tofore the phisician / for like as the phisicians haue
the charge to hele the Infirmities of a man In like wise
haue the Judges charge to c. p. se all stryues & contencions
and reduse vnto voyde and to punyshe and correcte cri-
mes crimynels. the left alphyn hath also two wayes fro
his owne place one toward the right side vnto the black
space voyde tofore the marchaunt. For the marchauntes
nede ofte tymes counceyl and ben in debate of questyons
Whiche must nedes be determyned by the Judges / and that
other yssue is vnto the place tofore the zynauldes: that
is by cause that ofte tymes among them falle noyses
dyscencions thefte & manslaughter. Wherefore they ought
to be punysshed by the Judges: & ye shal vnderstonde that
the alphyn goeth al theyr cornel wyse fro the thyrd poynnt to
the thyrd poynnt, styppynge al theyr his owne siege / for yf he
be black he goeth al theyr black and yf he be Whye he goeth

alkepe whyte / the pssue or goynge cornerly or angularly
signefyeth aucte or subtiltye / Whiche Juges ought to
haue . The thre poyntes betoken the thynges that the Ju
ge ought to attende a iuge ought to further rightful and
trewe causes . secondly he ought to geue trewe counceyl / &
thyrde he ought to geue a Juge rightful sentences after
the allegaunces & neuer to goo fro the right wysnes of
the lawe and it is to bete that the alphyng goeth in vi
draughtes al the tablie rounde about / and that he cometh
agayn in to his owne place and hold he hit that al reason
and good perfeccion shold be in a kynge / yet ought hit al
so spcially be in them that ben counceyllours of the kynge
and the quene and the kynge ought not to do ony thyng
doubtful til he haue aydd counceyl of his Juges and of
the sages of the wyame / and therfore ought the Juge to
be parfaytly wyse and sage as wel in science as in good
maners and that is signefyed when they meue from the
poyntes in to thre for the sixte nombre by Whiche they goo
al the chequer . and brynge hem agayn in to her propre
place in suche wyse that the ende of her moeyng is conioyn
ed agayn to the begynnynge of the place fro whens they
departed & therfore hit is callyd a parfayt moeyng .



The fiftthe chappye of the fourth tractate of the meynynge
of the knyghtes capitulo

quinto



After the issue of the alphys we shal comynge to poe
a the yssue and the meynynge of the knyghtes / and
we say that the knyght on the right side is Whyt . and on
the left side black . & the yssue & meynynge of hem to be is
in one maner whan so is that the knyght on the right side
is Whyt the left knyght is black / the meynynge of hem is
suche . that the Whyt may goo in to the space of the alphys
as hys appereth of the knyght on the right side that
is Whyt . And hath the yssues from his proper place .
one on his right side in the place tofore the labourer .

and hit is wel wofon that Whan the labourer and husband
man hath laboured the felde . the knyghtes ought to
kepe them to the entente that they haue vitailles for them
self & theyr horses . The second yssue is that he may meue
hym vnto the black space tofore the notarye or draper / for
he is bounden to defende and kepe them that make hys
testementes & coucours necessarye vnto hys body . The
thyrde yssue is that he may goo on the left side in to the
place tofore the marchant Which is sette tofore the kyng
the Which is black . and the wofon is for as moche as he
ought and is holden to defende the kyng as wel as his
owne persone . Whan he passyth the first draught . he may
goo four weyes / and Whan he is in the myddes of the ta-
bler he may goo in to viij places sondry / to Which he may
renne , and in like wyse may the left knyght goo Which
is black and goeth out of his place in to Whyt / And in
that maner goeth the knyght fightyng by his myght . &
groweth and multiplyeth in his poyntes / and ofte tymes
by them the felde is wonne or lost . a knyghtes vertue and
myght is not knowen but by his fightyn . And in his
fightyng he doeth moche harme for as moche as his myght
extendeth in to so many poyntes / they ben in many perilles
in theyr fightyng . and Whan they eschape they haue the ho-
nour of the game . & thus is hit of every man the more
exallant / & the more honoured / and he that maketh hym
self ofte tymes shyneth clearest .

The sixte chappitre of the fourth tractate treateth of the
 yssue of the wokes and of her progressyon capitulo 61



The moeyng & yssue of the wokes which ben by
 the capres of the kyng is such that the right wok is
 black & the left wok is whyt/and whan the chesse ben setes
 as wel the nobles as the comyn peple first in theyr propre
 places the wokes by theyr propre vertu haue no waye to
 yssue but yf hit be maad to them by the nobles or comyn
 peple / For they ben enclosed in theyr propre sieges
 And the reson why is such that for as moche as they
 ben by capres lieutenantes or comyssyoners of the kyng
 theyr auctorite is of none effect tofore they yssue out.

And that they haue begonne to enhaunce their offyce. for
as longe as they be Wythin the palays of the kyng. so
longe may they not vse ne execute theyr comyssyon. but
anone as they yssue they may vse theyr auctorite / and ye
shal vnderstande that theyr auctorite is grette / For they re-
presente the persons of the kyng / and therfore Where the
tablier is voyde they may renne alle the tablier. in lyke
lyke as they goon thurgh the wyame / and they may goo
as Wel Wyt as black as Wel on the right side and left
as foreward and backward / and as fer may they renne as
they fynde the tablier voyde. Whether hit be of his aduer-
saries as of his owen felawes. and When the rook is
in the myddel of the tablier / he may goo Whiche Way he wyl
in to four right lignes on euery syde. and it is to Wete
that he may in no wyse goo corner wyse. but alwey right
forth goynge and comynge as afore is sayd. Wherefore al
the subgettis of the kyng as Wel good as euyl ought to
knowe by theyr moeyng that the auctorite of the Wy-
carys and comyssyonere ought to be very trewe right wyse
and iuste / and ye shal vnderstande that they ben strange
and ferocious in batayll. for the elbo wakes onely may
waynquyshe a kyng theyr aduersarye and take hym. and
take from hym his lyf and his wyame / and this Was
don When Cyrus kyng of perse and Darius kyng of
medes slewe Balthazar and took his wyame from hym.
Whiche Was newe to enylmoradach Under Whom this
game Was founden.



The vii chapptre of the fourth booke of the yssue of
the comyn peple capitulo septimo

One yssue and one moeyng apperteyneth vnto all
the comyn peple / for they may goo fro the poynt they
stande in at the first meuyng vnto the thurd poynt : right
forth tofore them / and when they haue so doon they may
afterward meue nomore but fro one poynt right forth in
to another . And they may neuer retorne backward . and
thus goyng forth fro poynt to poynt . they may gette by
vertue and strength . that thyngs that the othe nobles
fynde by dygnyte . and yf the knyghtes and other no-
bles helpe hem that they come to the ferthest ligne tofore
them where theyr aduersaries were sette they acquyre the
dygnyte that the quene hath graunted to her by grace .

For yf any of them may come to thys sayd ligne yf he be
Whyt as labourer draper, phisicien, or kepar of the cite then
they receyve such dignyte as the quene hath / for they have
gotten hit / & than retournyng agayn homeward / they may
go like as it is sayd in the chapiter of the quene 'and yf
ony of the pawns that be black as the smyth the mar/
chaunt / the tawerna, & ribauld may come without domage
in to the same utterest ligne he shal gete by his vertu the
dignyte of the black quene / & ye shal vnderstande whan
thys comyn peple meue right forth in her ligne / & fynde
ony noble pr:soner or of the peple of their aduersaries sette
in the poynt on ony side tofore hym / In that corner poynte
he may take his aduersarye whether hit be on the right side
or on the left & the cause is that the aduersaries ben sus:
picious that the comyn peple lyx in a waye to robbe her
goodes or to take her pr:sones whā they go vppward right
forth . and therefore he may take in the right angle tofore
hym one of his aduersaries / as he had espied his persone
and in the right angle as robber of his goodes . & whether
hit be goynge forward or retournyng fro black to Whyt , or
Whyt to black the p:one must alwey goo in his right lig:
ne & alwey take in the corner that he fyndeth in his waye
but he may not goo on neyther side til he hath been in the
fardest ligne of the chequer & that he hath taken the nature
of the draughtes of the quene / & than he is a fierse . and
than he may goo on al sides cornerwise fro poynt to poynt
onely as the quene both fightynge & takynge whom he fyn:
deth in his waye . And whan he is thus comen vnto the
place where the nobles his aduersaries were sette he shal

he made Whit fiers and black fiers / after the wynte that
he is in & there taketh he the dygnyte of the quene & alle
these thynges may appere to them that beholde the playe
of the chesse . and ye shal vnderstande that no noble man
ought to haue despyte of the comyn peple . for hit hath been
ofte tymes seen . that by their vertu and wytte / dyuerce of
them haue comen to right hygh & grette astate as popes .
bysshops . emperours and kynges . as we haue in the histo
rye of dauid that was made kyng of a shepheard and one
of the comyn peple & of many other / and in lyke wise we
rede of the contrarie . that many noble men haue been
brought to myserie by theyr default as of gyges which
was right riche of landes and of richesses & was so proud
that he went and demaunded of the god appollo . yf there
were any in the world more riche and more happy than he
was / and than he herd a boye that yssued out of the
fisse or pitte of the sacrifice / that a peple named agalans
sophide which were pure of goodes & riche of courage was
more acceptable than he which was kyng / & thus the god
appollo allowed more the sappyence and the surete of the
pure man & of his litel meyne / than he dyd the astate
and the persone of gyges ne of his riche mayne / and hit
is more to allowe a lytyl thyng surely pou:selled thenne
moche good taken in fere and drede / and for as moche as
a man of lowe signage is by his vertue enhaused . so
moche the more he ought to be glorious and of good reno
mee . Virgyle that was borne in lombardy of the nacion
of mantua and was of lowe and symple signage . yet he
was souerayn in wysdom and science & the most noble

of al the poyntes . of Whom the rymee Was / is and shal
 be during the world . so hit happend that another poete
 aryd and demaunded of hym Wherfore he sette not the
 fis of homer in his booke and he answered that he shold be
 of right grette strengthe and force that shold plucke the
 elubbe out of hercules handes and thys suffiseth the state
 and draughtis of the comyn peple /

The viij chapptre and the last of the fourth booke of the
 epylogacion and recapitulacion of thys booke capitulo viij



EOr as moche as we see and knowe that the memo-
ry of the peple is not reventys but right forgetful
Whan some here longe tales and hystories which they can
not al receyve in her mynde or recorde. Therefore I have
put in this present chapytre al the thynges abovesayd as
shortly as I have cōne / first this playe or game was fou-
den in the tyme of enymerodach kyng of babylone. And
exceases the philosopher othe wyse named philometer found
hit / and the cause why was for the correccion of the kyng
lyke as hit apperith in thre the first chapytres. For the
sayd kyng was so tyrānus & felow that he myght suffer
no correccion. But slewe them and dyd so put hem to death
that correctid hym. and had than so put to death many
right wyse men, than the peple being sorrowful and right
evyl pleased of this evyl lyf of the kyng prayed and re-
quyred the philosopher. that he shold reprove and telle the
kyng of his folye. and than the philosopher answered that
he shold be dede yf he so dyd. and the peple sayd to hym.
certes thou oughdest sone wyll to dye to thend that thy
venome myght come to the peple. than the lyf of the kyng
shold cōtinue in evyl. for lacke of thy counsell. or by faulte
of reprehension of the. or thou darist not do & slewe that
thou sayest. & Whan the philosopher herd this he promysid
to the peple that he shold put hym in daunger to correct hym.
And thenne he began to thynke hym in what maner he
myght escape the death and sepe to the peple his promesse.
And thenne thus he maad in this maner and ordeyn-
ned the eschequer of lyvyn wyntes as is afore sayd.
And dyd so make the forme of eschequers of gold & siluer.

in humayn figure after the facions & formes as We haue
describ'd & shew'd to you tofore in theyr chappitres / & ordeyned
the moeyng & thestate after that it is sayd in the
chappitres of the chessys / & When the philosopher had thus
ordeyned the playe or game . & that hit pleased alle them
that sawe hit . on a tyme as the philosopher played on hit
the kynge came and sawe hit and desired to playe at
this game / And thenne the philosopher began to signe
and teche the kynge the science of the playe and the
draughtes / Sayeng to hym first how the kynge ought
to haue in hym self pyte & bonayte and rightwysnes .
as hit is sayd tofore in the chappitre of the kynge / And
he enseygned to hym the astate of the quene and what
maners she ought to haue / And thenne of the alphyngs
as counceyllours and Iuges of the royaume /

And after the nature of the knyghtes how they ought
to be wyse . trewe and curtyse and al the ordre of knyght
hode / And than after the nature of the byshops and
Rookes as hit appereth in theyr chappitre / And after
thys how the comyn people ought to goo eche in his offyce
And how they ought to serue the nobles . And When
the philosopher had thus taught and enseygned the
kynge and his nobles by the maner of the playe and
had reprehended hym of his euyl maners . The kynge
demanded hym byn payn of deth to telle hym the cause
why and wherefore he had made and founden this playe /
and game . And what thyng moued hym thereto / and than
the philosopher constrained by feare & drede answered . that
he had promysed to the people whiche had requyred hym

that he shold correcte and repara the kyng of his euyl vi
 ces, but for as moche as he doubted the death and hady fear
 that the kyng dyd do flee the sages & Wyse men that were
 so hardy to blame hym of his vyces. he was in grete an
 gresshe and sorowe, wher he myght fynde a maner to cor
 recte and reprehendre the kyng, and to saue his ower lyf
 and thus he thought longe and studied that he foud this
 game or playe. Whiche he hath do sette forth for to amende
 and correcte the lyf of the kyng, and to chaunge his ma
 ners, and he adioyned wyth al that he had fownden thys
 game for so moche as the lordes and nobles haue bounden
 in delices and richesses, and enioyng temporal pces shold
 esse the pcelnes by playeng of thys game, and for to geue
 hem cause to leue her pensifnes and sorowes, in auyng
 and studyeng this game, and when the kyng had herd al
 thys causes he thought that the philosopher had fownd a
 good maner of correction, & than he thanked hym greatly
 and thus by benygnement and lernyng of the philoso
 pher. he chaunged his lyf his manners and alle his euyl
 condicions, and by this maner hit happend that the kyng
 that tofore tyme had ben vyceous and disordynate in hys
 lyuynge was made Juste and Vertuous, reynour / grac
 ious and ful of Vertues vnto al peple. And a man that
 lyueth in thys world without Vertues lyueth not as a
 man but as a best. Therne late every man of what
 condycion he be that redyth or heareth this lictel booke read
 take thereby ensauple to amende hym.

Explicit per Cayton

